ZIONISM CLASHES WITH ISLAM

THE WORLD TOMORROW

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Russia
The Land of Limitless Contradictions

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

Articles by:

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Also book reviews and verse

The Speculation Mania
REINHOLD NIEBUHR

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The World Tomorrow

VOL. XIII January, 1930 No. 1

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Who's Who in This Issue

John Nevin Sayre is President of THE WORLD TOMORROW and Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

H. C. Engelbrecht, a member of the editorial staff of Social Science Abstracts, recently returned from an extended visit to Russia.

Sherwood Eddy, Secretary for Asia of the National Council Y. M. C. A., is at present traveling in Europe and the Orient.

John van Brakle is the author of three poems appearing in the New World Anthology.

Margaret Tod Ritter is a Colorado poet who has published verse in various periodicals.

Anna Rochester, author of *Labor and Coal*, is engaged in labor research.

Jerome Davis holds the Stark chair of practical philanthropy at Yale Divinity School.

Earl Daniels is a member of the faculty at Buffalo State Teachers College.

Helen Maring contributes occasional verse to this and other magazines.

Harry Laidler is executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy and author of several books on social and labor problems.

Paul Jones is Acting Bishop of the Southern Ohio Diocese of the Episcopal Church.

Abraham Cronbach is a professor at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Paul Arthur Schilpp is professor of philosophy at the College of the Pacific.

Alva W. Taylor is professor of social ethics at Vanderbilt University.

Appearing Soon

Sovereign Continents — *Francis P. Miller*

The Little Church in the Big City — *Irwin St. John Tucker*

What Is Wrong With Austria? — *Kaspar Mayr*

Socialism Pro and Con: Two articles by *Norman Thomas* and *John E. Edgerton*

Religion and Contemporary Thought: *a provocative series of articles dealing with the relation between religion and psychology, religion and art, religion and the physical sciences, religion and ethics.*

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIII January, 1930 No. 1

Editorials

A Russian Number

THE WORLD TOMORROW is barred from Soviet Russia. Copies are returned at the point of entry. Our first mood is one of glee over the intellectual gymnastics this will necessitate for the Chicago *Tribune,* Mr. Fred Marvin, and other imaginative Americans who have seen lurking behind our activities the sinister hand of Bolshevism. But we sober down soon to recognize that pacifists of other lands are barred from citizenship here and that alien radicals, even of a moderate stripe, have often been barred from entering. There is in this otherwise slight incident a symptom of what is wrong between the U.S.S.R. and the non-communist countries. Nothing in the long run so vitally affects the peace of the world, perhaps, as the relations between the two rival concepts of government and economics at the root of communism and capitalism. In many countries capitalism is definitely on the defensive and the gradualism of Socialist tactics, while no less menacing to the entrenched economic order, naturally causes fewer chills to run up capitalist spines. This does not mean that socialism is no longer a serious world force, as communities fondly dream; it means that in spite of all the international character of the communist movement, it has come to express itself through terms of nationality. An understanding between Russia and the United States is essential to any future free from suspicion, hatred, even war. The increasing American trade with the Soviet Union has not been reflected politically. The Russians with regard to the United States are obviously jumpy. Whatever may be anyone's personal opinion concerning the Russian experiment, he cannot evade its challenging world significance.

In this issue we print five articles on various phases of Russia and our national relations with the Russian people. We make no pretense of thoroughness, of course; but we are convinced that the group of articles, two of which take opposite sides of the philosophy and practice of communism, and all of which are written by recent first-hand observers, will contribute a little toward the understanding which must be promoted.

Mr. Stimson Slips

Now that we are under official Soviet disapproval, it may be safe to remark timidly that in our judgment the United States Department of State has gone into the record as having committed a ridiculous piece of ineptitude in the note to China and Russia. To be sure, both Manchurian China and the Soviet Union had broken the pact of Paris—neither the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railroad nor the military stroke adopted by Russia to bring China to terms was a settlement by pacific means. In pleading "defense" both countries resort to the same old alibi which nations have used *ad nauseam* for centuries. But if Mr. Stimson was out to make the Pact a real force and establish a valuable precedent, he could hardly have picked a poorer time. M. Litvinoff's sharp spanking was justified. Not only had there been no similar world move initiated when China seized the railroad as there came when Russia pushed the Chinese out, but a settlement had been effected on all save one minor point; and it seems clear that our State Department was not even aware of the negotiations, which were not secret and which were known to the press. The worst thing about the fiasco is the blow it gives to the use of a similar move in the future; for the undertaking itself was eminently worth while and in many an emergency should be followed hereafter despite the bad start it has received through this incredible blundering.

The Labor Government's Problem

It is generally assumed that the Labor Government in Britain has gained so much prestige through its foreign policy that it would be able to win a general election and gain a clear majority in the House of Commons, if an election were held. But it is this very popularity that will persuade both of the other parties to avoid any division which would necessitate such an election. The MacDonald government is in power for at least a year, and in that year it is not impossible that much of its present prestige and popularity will be frittered away. Its unemployment program has been

disappointing thus far. Mr. J. H. Thomas went to Canada with a great fanfare of trumpets and came back largely empty handed. Its program of public expenditure involving about a quarter of a billion dollars will reduce the army of unemployed only slightly. Its housing program will do much to satisfy the now disaffected elements in its own party, but it will also alienate some of the friends it has made on foreign policy. Its imperial policy, both in regard to Egypt and India, represents enlightened liberalism; but is too much of a concession to the imperial interests to delight the consistent Socialists and yet too dangerous to traditional imperialism to satisfy the men who sit on the opposition benches.

In other words, the position of the labor ministry illustrates all the perils which a party holding to a new political philosophy must meet when it tries to attain its ends without disrupting the traditional parliamentary process. One hopes that the British genius for parliamentarism will help it to gain its ultimate ends by the somewhat tortuous route which it is bound to take. But it is no easy matter for a party to be in office and not in power and satisfy the political necessities of the moment without playing truant to those principles by the proclamation of which it has won the loyalty of the working population of Britain. Time alone will tell whether the party can overcome these perils and finally initiate a genuine social change in Britain, or whether it is fated to furnish governments in brief interludes of Tory supremacy without a sufficiently prolonged tenure of office to make the redemption of its real and important promises a possibility.

Our Business Rule

President Hoover moves definitely, constructively to meet the depression certain to follow in some degree the stock market crash. He represents a largely unethical economic philosophy at its best, perhaps, but he is sadly lacking in preception. The conference of business, industrial, and utility interests is an interesting example of how far our real governmental functions have been given over from political to economic forces. The program of public works and private expansion will undoubtedly do much to allay the distress and to postpone the reckoning. But when Mr. William Green pledges the workers of America—though he represents only a few—not to work for wage rises, he contributes in no small degree to the perpetuation of the workers' subservience to whatever fate the upper economic groups choose to grant them. It is of little use to announce that the concession to employing bodies was not meant to include the Southern textile workers; no campaign to organize can ever get under way with full steam ahead in such a defeatist environment and under such defeatist leadership. There can be no assurance that wholesale wage cuts will not be put into effect in spite of the employers' pledge, though THE WORLD TOMORROW is temporarily willing to give them the benefit of the doubt, lessons of the past notwithstanding. But there are many and devious ways of cutting wages. How our system really works is best shown by the projected income tax reduction, another attempt to restore confidence. Only some four million people submit individual returns; millions of wage earners do not receive enough to be assessed. This class of our population therefore receives none of the aid; but it will be expected, we suppose, to exhibit an accession of cheerful confidence.

Haiti Restores Reality

Just when some of the peace societies were being plagued by erstwhile contributors who were moved to give their support instead to "more controversial causes" as one optimist put it, and when the President's undoubtedly genuine desires for more pacific relations were making headway, a whole bundle of past and present sins have come home to roost. Not the least of these is Haiti. Ever since 1915 that island republic has been under the none-too-benevolent dictatorship of the United State Navy. There has been no people's election since 1917; the present government is elected by a council and we tell the council whom to pick. Tired of having a puppet President and being subjected to the constant indignity of marine rule by a foreign power, the ungrateful natives have again revolted in spite of the fact that a treaty—doubly sacred because enforced at the point of American bayonets—gives us a protectorate until 1936. Mr. Hoover's eagerness to improve relations with Latin American countries is laudable and transparently sincere. To send another commission of inquiry to Haiti, however, when previous investigations have already disclosed the unsavory character of our rule, is merely an evasion of duty. In spite of improved customs management, better budgets, sounder business methods, smoother roads, and less graft due to our occupation—and we think these gains are demonstrable—we have carried on a brutal despotism which is not only unjustifiable in Haiti itself, but rightly inflames the suspicions of all Latin America regarding our pious aspirations. The eagle's talons hurt no less because he is made to sing like a lyric nightingale.

Quakers Keep Out!

The Supreme Court's decision regarding Rosika Schwimmer has had the expected repercussion in lower courts. Mrs. Margaret D. Webb, a Friend of Canadian birth who has lived for twelve years at Richmond, Indiana, has been refused citizenship by the Circuit Court. Mrs. Webb has a long and honorable Quaker ancestry. But that made no difference, nor did the fact that she is a person of distinct value to any com-

nonwealth. The court room was filled with Quakers nd sympathetic friends, as well as members of the D. A. R. and other historical and hysterical bodies. The udge did a little emotional flag-waving, and once more he honor of something or other was vindicated. Here s the fault with the applicant according to her testiony: "I love the United States and would serve it aithfully—would lay down my life for it, but I could ot take life." As yet, the United States does not eem worthy of such citizens as Margaret Webb.

Americanizing Europe

As everybody knows, Europe is of late making rapid "progress"; in other words, it is being Americanized. American products fill the shops from Edinburgh to Athens; American autos make the streets unsafe from Moscow to London; American advertising is as ugly n Constantinople as it is in New York. Because the American "tourist industry" has become one of the foremost items in the national income of several countries, Europe is succumbing to more and more Americanization.

It is pleasant, of course, for the traveler to find medium priced hotels with running water in every room, baths, elevator service, and various other comforts. But unfortunately the "tourist industry" has invaded a great many other spheres. Last year we were regaled with the story that an American tourist agency had advised thousands of European hotels what food American tourists demanded, thus seriously injuring what remained of national distinction in meals. The very appearance of many cities is being Americanized. Lovely Nuernberg is "graced" with the hideous red signboards of an American chain store; Mont St. Michel and Lourdes have lost their charm through the veritable horde of souvenir peddlers which obstruct every wayside; Paris in spots is like the Times Square subway station; Constantinople must read a good deal of English merely to know what is being sold.

Americanization does not stop even there. Two recent incidents reveal that Europe is bowing to the lowest and meanest in American life. In Paris the cafes and dance halls of the Montparnasse are excluding Negroes. A particularly flagrant instance occurred last summer when a Negro prince from Haiti was asked to retire from the floor of one of the largest dance halls because Americans objected to his presence. Old-time Parisians are furious and under their breath curse the "drunk American prohibitionists." But business is business. London, too, has surrendered. Paul Robeson, the well known American Negro actor and singer, was recently barred from the grill of a prominent London hotel where he was to be the guest of English white friends. And a Chicago Negro newspaper publisher was refused admission to thirty London hotels last summer because of his color.

Is comment necessary? Why does Europe yield to the meanest American prejudice? Thousands of Americans grow indignant when they hear that Negroes have been told in Brooklyn not to contaminate a white church with their presence, or when a star Negro football player is left out of a game when the team is to play a Southern university "because he has a cold." Europe to them has always been fairer and more just in these matters. Suppose we teach Europe another bit of American life which would be very helpful in this situation. When Americans are confronted with critics who do not approve of all they see and hear, their classic reply is: "If you don't like this country why don't you go back where you came from?" Let Europe learn this little *mot* and stop selling its very soul for American dollars.

Palestine Perplexity

It may be that Zionists and Arabs can never live together in Palestine. It may be that only the most extreme forms of Zionist jingoism, prophesying a stern Jewish control that will put the Arabs in their place, will serve to keep the Jewish homeland. If so there could be no greater tragedy, for the perpetuation of such a state will demand thousands of machine guns, and the mandate will soon seem to Britain like a viper's nest instead of the hornets' nest which it already is. It is possible that even a moderate Zionism can never work harmoniously. Palestine is a problem for which there may be no ideal solution. With the natural desire of the Jews to hold to the old soil around which so much of tradition and sacred loyalty has clung, one can hardly do other than sympathize; but with the Arabs, fearing dispossession, long the victims of bright European lies and broken pledges, one must also sympathize. If the better heads and nobler ideals of both groups prevail, there may yet be hope.

Our hats are off to Dr. Judah Magnes who has come out bravely, knowing that he would raise a storm of criticism, for a cultural rather than a political homeland in which Jews, Arabs, and Christians may live in friendly relations without dominance by any. Dr. Magnes has the courage of his convictions, and he speaks not for himself alone. In Palestine there has been for several years an active peace union, the Brith Shalom, which has worked, and not without success, to break through the gathering hostility. Whether his fellow-Zionists will completely rend him is not yet certain; his pacifism, demonstrated during the World War, may not find a ready response. On the other hand, his particular stand this time has won a surprising endorsement, even so influential a paper as *The American Hebrew* coming to his defense. We do not feel competent to pass on the ultimate wisdom of any program for Palestine in detail; but we know that Judah Magnes does not speak idly and that he is no hazy idealist with-

out realism in his make-up. There is reason to hope that Zionism yet may be able to undercut the Arab resentment and thus build securely and safely, by going more than halfway. If it can follow its more sensitive consciences, it may yet find the Arabs deaf to the pleas of flamboyant Moslem leaders. It is interesting to note that the Arab paper *Felestin,* commenting on the reconciliation plans suggested by the Brith Shalom, declared that "Had the Zionists attempted to work out a plan similar to this and in the same spirit, Palestine would have been a different country from what it is today." This view may be an oversimplification of an infinitely complex question; but in it lies a clue to wise action for the future.

Old Age Security Gaining

In the October issue we carried an article on Old Age Security by Abraham Epstein, Secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security. Since the foundation of this Association, which is headed by Bishop Francis J. McConnell, about three years ago, there has been a remarkable growth of public interest in this question. Doubtless, the rapid industrialization of our country, the merging of corporations, and the establishment of a deadline of employment by many of our leading industrial concerns against all wage earners past middle age have helped to focus public attention on our woefully inadequate and inexcusably negligent social policy towards the aged. It is a sad commentary upon our social conscience that we are the only industrial nation today which has as yet established no other social provision for those aged who after a a lifetime of toil and effort are left without any means of support except the degrading three-century-old system of poor-houses and poor relief.

It is significant, for example, that, the most important amendments in a century of our ancient poor relief system in populous states like Pennsylvania and New York came when agitation for the establishment of an old age pension system was at its height. The inauguration of a constructive plan of security in old age, however, will do more than reform our poor relief system. It will largely eliminate the present deadline of employment against the middle aged, which employers of labor have introduced chiefly because they do not wish to assume sole responsibility for the old age of workers, unless such workers have given them from 20 to 30 years' service. Old age protection should not be the responsibility of only those employers who give employment to older workers. Corporations which employ workers, say from ages 18 to 40, should be held as responsible as those who employ workers from 45 to 65. Only through a system of state pensions can this burden be distributed equitably.

We are happy to note the progress already made in this movement. Ten states have placed old age pension laws on their statute books. In the states of Montana, Utah, and Wisconsin, pensions are now being paid to aged persons. On January 1, 1930, the benefits of the recently enacted California law will be extended to more than 5,000 old men and women. Only a few weeks ago the county of Milwaukee, with a population of over 600,000, decided to accept the provisions of the Wisconsin law, thus assuring success of the 1925 act throughout the state in the near future. The movement is particularly forceful in New York State where Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt and Lieutenant-Governor Herbert H. Lehman have assumed its leadership. It is confidently expected that 1930 will see the enactment of adequate pension laws in New York and Massachusetts. The American Association for Old Age Security deserves the gratitude and support of all lovers of social justice for the contribution it has made to this movement.

The New Draft Bill

Citizens and organizations interested in peace will do well to keep a careful watch upon Congress during the coming months. Two bills have been introduced and will no doubt be resubmitted, providing for various forms of universal registration and giving the President new and more autocratic powers in the event of an "emergency." The most dangerous bill is that introduced at the request of the War Department which calls for the registration of all male citizens between the ages of 18 and 45 in peace time. This bill would set the stage completely for a "next war" so that if Congress should declare a national emergency (it might be a strike as well as war), the whole war machinery could begin to move without further legislative enactments. The American Legion advertises this kind of legislation as being designed to "draft dollars as well as men." The fact is that the bill does nothing of the sort. It provides for the immediate integration of the industrial establishment of the country into the war machine, most likely upon the old "cost plus" basis of remuneration.

The Reed-Wainwright bill is less dangerous but certainly not innocuous. It merely provides for the appointment of a bi-partisan commission to draft legislation by which we will "enact into law while we are yet at peace such provisions and policies to be pursued when war shall come as shall empower the President immediately to mobilize the resources of the country." In either case, the object is to make a kind of armed camp of the nation and to obviate the necessity of legislative action when an emergency arises. It is the attempt of one generation to decide for a future generation just how and when it is to act, and to make reactions to a national emergency as automatic as possible. The War Department crowd wants the automatic abdication of the legislative representatives of the people as quickly as possible so that it can assume

authority without hindrance from troublesome debaters and without the expression of the public will.

The Reed-Wainwright bill does not satisfy the American Legion altogether. It merely creates a commission. But we may be sure that the commission will finally propose legislation not very different from that which is proposed in the War Department bill and the still older Capper-Johnson bill. In the cases of all these bills, the announced intention "to take the profits out of war and to require equal service of all" is subterfuge. Said the proponent of the Capper-Johnson bill, former Commander Spafford of the American Legion: "You cannot draft capital—The Constitution of the United States says that you can not take a man's property without compensation. It would be making us into the United States of Soviet America instead of the United States of America."

The Spirit of British Labor

No party can grow to strength on its enthusiasm or its determination alone. Economic and social factors which are often not readily discernible operate to make or break the chances of political gain. Nevertheless, anyone who has been closely in contact with such a movement as the La Follette campaign of 1924 and the groups which disintegrated afterwards chiefly because the progressive and labor factions desired immediate results without great price, will appreciate the fact that the rise of British Labor was not accomplished without a fighting grimness that never wavered at obstacles or defeats.

Two of the post-election comments by Labor Party workers reveal a temper sorely wanting in the American efforts to create new party movements. George Lansbury, the veteran Socialist, has said in part:

> The present Government is but an incident in the onward march of the workers. Behind us there is a long, long history, which tells of many mistakes, of great failures, but which also tells of heroic deeds and high endeavour by thousands of unknown men and women who have gone to their rest before the rising of the dawn. The works of these do follow them. All who live today are inheritors of their work. Those who went before learned "to labour and wait." It may seem a hard thing to say, but all of us today who are true Socialists—young and old, rich and poor—must learn the same lesson. It is easier, much easier, to understand and do this now than it was when Keir Hardie, *alone* in the House of Commons, raised the Red Flag of Revolt . . . . Forty years is a long time in the life of individuals but only a moment in the life of humanity.

From Minnie Pallister, a vigorous worker for the Independent Labor Party, comes the following to the British *New Leader*:

> They have had any amount of cars with which to sweep up whole streets of non-political voters. We have had to depend upon the votes of those who were earnest enough to walk to the poll.
>
> They have had unlimited funds. They could print thousands of leaflets. They could employ any number of people to recount panic stories about the wickedness of the Labour Party.
>
> We had to count every penny, and depend on the spare-time services of men and women who had to work hard every day. Our leaflets were strictly limited. They had dozens of papers, we had one or two.
>
> They could use their expensive machine to swamp the country with catch-cries and lurid atrocity posters. We had to rely on the comparatively tame discussion of political and economic theories.
>
> Handicapped in every way, fighting Press, Influence, Money, Leisure, Cars, Scandal, yet our vote grew.
>
> Then they tried to stop our solitary source of funds—the political levy, and still our vote grew. This election, for the first time in history, we were able to fight almost fair in just one particular—we got our case broadcast, and we grew with a jump.
>
> So now they are calling "foul" and want "electoral reform." But I don't think they mean the abolition of private motors on polling day, or limitation of expenditure, or the closing of public-houses and Conservative clubs.
>
> But what does it matter what they mean? If all the people who ought, by every law of reason and logic, to vote Labour, voted Labour, it would not matter one iota what electoral system was used.
>
> Eight million voted for us; at least another eight million who should have voted for us, voted for the others.
>
> That is what concerns us and must concern us until the next fight.

Race Prejudice in Nebraska

Social life between foreign and American students is *verboten* at the University of Nebraska. Why? Merely because the mingling of the Nebraskan Nordics with their fellow students from abroad might occasionally go beyond the bonds of ordinary friendship, resulting *horrible dictu* in marriage. And marriage between an American girl and, say, a Filipino would be distinctly unfortunate in this democracy of ours. The dean of student affairs has put himself on record as an advocate of race prejudice—a bias as unreasonable as it is petty. In a letter to the *Daily Nebraskan* relative to the formation of a Filipino club, the good dean emits a lot of meaningless platitudes about the association between an institution of learning and its students being "as pleasant as possible." "The University," he says unctuously, "wants to offer everyone including Filipino students every opportunity of its classrooms, its laboratories, and its libraries." But foreigners, Filipinos in particular, should be good little boys and "confine their social life to mingling with members of their own group or with the young men of the University"!

We do not blame the president of the Filipino club for resenting this outrageous order and for sending the dean a spirited protest which, incidentally, was refused publication in the student paper. Education, what crimes—etc.

Recognize Russia Now

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

THE stinging reply of Russia to Secretary Stimson's appeal to the Soviet Union to observe its peace pledge under the Kellogg Pact is what might have been expected under the circumstances of the United States' refusal to be on speaking terms with the Government it sought to advise. We advised Russia last July when the trouble over the Manchurian railway began; but after that we did nothing to improve our relations with the Soviet government and allowed month after month of precious time to drift by. Then in a second crisis we again issued advice—again through a third Government occasioning a delay of three or four days in transmission—and the result was mutual misunderstanding. Walter Duranty, the Moscow correspondent of the New York *Times*, wired on December 8: "It is becoming increasingly clear that a misunderstanding—mutual misunderstanding—rather than malevolence is what is chiefly wrong between the United States and the Soviet Union."

Even if the immediate issue between Russia and China over the Manchurian railway should be peacefully settled, the need for a better understanding between the Soviet Government and our own is urgent and will continue. For various reasons Russia is likely to be a storm center in world affairs for some time to come, and if the United States is really interested in the maintenance of world peace, it cannot afford to have no way of talking face to face with the representatives of what is plainly one of the least negligible governments in the world. If a situation of extreme gravity should develop in Moscow tomorrow, the United States has no ambassador on the spot who could exercise a friendly or moderating influence, who could report events to the State Department first hand, and who could actually work for peace. So long as we refuse diplomatic relations with the only government which does exist in Russia, we are in the uncomfortable—not to say dangerous—position of being unable to communicate with either Russian government or people except in secret irregular ways or through press broadsides, or with the listening-in of some third government to which we must be beholden for its willingness to send along our views.

Furthermore, the United States, as well as Russia, has signed the Kellogg Pact and it is an obligation which works both ways. *We* have agreed that toward all the signatories—of whom Russia is one—we will not use the instrument of war but will seek "pacific means" for "the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts." The simplest of these means is direct diplomatic intercourse. Diplomatic relations and recognition do not necessarily carry with them the sanction of approval. We might disapprove of the Soviet Government heartily, but the more we disapproved, the more advisable it would be to have machinery for the pacific settlement of disputes between us—machinery already set up and oiled and working efficiently. To refuse this and to refuse to recognize a government which is unquestionably the only government in control in the Russian scene, is to maintain an attitude which inevitably is felt to be hostile. And hostility and suspicion between signatories of the Kellogg Pact are obviously not the best thing for the Pact's effective functioning.

EVENTS may not wait for the United States to postpone indefinitely the cultivation of better relations. In Russia last summer I saw many signs of a growing war danger. I was told on all sides that the *fear* of war has been developing at an alarming pace. Whether this is the result of Communist propaganda or the unfriendly attitude of other nations to Russia, or both, the fact is that a dangerous war psychology unquestionably exists. As many Germans before 1914 believed that their nation was encircled by hostile foes, so Russians today live under the fear that their country will be *attacked*. This fear underlies the conflict about the railroad in Manchuria, the Soviet haste to press through their Five-Year Plan of economic development, the struggle to communize and expand agricultural mass-production, the conflict with religion and much else. Limits of space in this article preclude the citation of evidence, but one scene of which I was a witness must be described.

On the Sunday of my arrival in Moscow I went to the first nation-wide assemblage of Young Pioneers, a youth group two million strong which the Communists have organized in the last five years as a counter group to our Boy Scouts. In a magnificent new stadium 35,000 boys and girls drawn from every part of the Soviet dominion, and some from Communist groups in foreign countries, paraded with bugle, band, and colors to their assigned places. Speeches from high officials in the government were amplified through a semi-circle of loud-speakers to the vast audience. "Be ready not only to work for your country but to defend it," was the reiterated appeal. Whenever this was made, the Pioneers shouted back, "We are ready," jumped to their feet, raised 35,000 young hands in the Soviet salute, and then sang the Inter-

nationale. Overhead, airplanes circled, swooped close and curved high again. Marshaled by young Communist leaders, the Pioneers were physically a magnificent looking lot, clean-limbed and sturdy, boys and girls shoulder to shoulder, earnest, youthful, easily suggestible to emotional nationalism. Repeatedly I asked myself: "Can it be possible that these young people so beautiful of body and joyous with life, will one day be just cannon fodder—perhaps for our Boy Scouts and youth of the R.O.T.C.?

Non-recognition and continued lack of means for mutual understanding lead straight in that direction. A conflict is not likely to occur tomorrow or next year, but as things now are, each day the poison of fear and hostility spreads contagion. A gesture of friendship is needed.

RECOGNIZING Russia this winter would *facilitate the movement for world-wide reduction of armaments.* Russia like present-day Germany has a vital national interest in world disarmament. She has already proposed to the League of Nations Disarmament Commission both complete disarmament and fifty per cent reduction. While it is true that the Russian Government has increased its preparations for war considerably during the last three years, these preparations are regarded as precautionary and defensive. So long as other nations keep up vast armaments, Russia naturally feels that she must maintain not parity, but military training and some defensive equipment. Thus fear and armament competition set in. Is not this winter the psychological time to arrest the whole dangerous process? Following the auspicious conversations between President Hoover and Prime Minister MacDonald, the United States, Great Britain, Germany and Russia should join their efforts in urging upon the whole world drastic armament reduction.

THE objections to recognition of Russia, which have been voiced by the United States Government and others, are that the Soviet Union does not pay us the war debt incurred by the Kerensky regime, that it encourages Communist propaganda in the United States for the overthrow of our Government and, in general, that it is a tyranny. Our problem, however, is whether the satisfactory settlement of such questions is more likely to be achieved through diplomatic procedure or in an atmosphere of hostile aloofness.

An instructive lesson is contained in the experience of England. In February, 1924, Ramsay MacDonald as Foreign Mininster said:

> "I want to settle all the outstanding points between Russia and ourselves. . . . I made up my mind on this and at the same time, that if you try to face those things—debt, foreign relations, treaties of doubtful validity, disagreements which were threatening war almost every day, propaganda North, South, East and West—if any Foreign Secretary sat down, and tried to settle those questions with a representative of Russia who was not even a Charge d'Affaires, if he lived to the age of Methuselah, he never would settle them. The preliminary for settlement was recognition. Therefore, I recommended the cabinet to recognize Russia, and that was done."

But after this came the incident of the forged Zinoviev letter, the downfall of MacDonald's Government, the London police raid on the Soviet Trade Delegation, and the rupture of diplomatic relations. Since then the questions at issue between Britain and Russia have *not* been settled, but suspicion, fear and ill-will have grown apace. And now Ramsay MacDonald has been returned to power and his government, facing intensified difficulties with Russia, announces that, first of all, diplomatic relations will be resumed.

UNFORTUNATELY, just now the news is leaking out of an intensified drive against religion by the Communist government. Christians who would teach or exercise free speech or refuse military training or encourage peasants to resist government agents at any point, are being imprisoned and exiled to Siberia and some of them killed. I talked to various ones whose stories reminded me of what happened to conscientious objectors in the United States during the War. Readers of THE WORLD TOMORROW will not need to be told how utterly wrong I consider such persecution to be, nor how socially disastrous to any state which persists in it. Yet we must try to understand the reasons for such conduct; and in Russia's case today it is to be explained at least in part as resulting from a patriotic psychosis of war fear.

As has already been pointed out, recognition of the Soviet Union by Britain and the United States would tend to allay the fear of our hostility. It would in addition make it possible for Russia to obtain better terms for foreign loans for economic and agricultural development, thus lessening the necessity for war-time speed in driving government projects through, and reducing fear-tension all round. This in turn would ease off the persecution of dissenters and religion.

It is of the utmost importance that the churches in America understand this and that they should not oppose recognition on the ground that the Bolsheviks are persecuting Christians. If the churches here are hostile, it only increases the Communist fear that Christians in Russia will be counter-revolutionary—an excuse for even further persecution. The most practical way in which American churches can aid the victims of persecution is by urging our government to recognize Russia immediately. It is impossible to threaten or coerce the Soviet Government into tolerance; but possibly it can be won to sanity and mercy by friendly treatment and the lessening of its fears.

So You've Been to Russia!

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

YES I have—from Leningrad to Odessa, from the Volga to Khiev. And wherever I've been since, in Europe and in America, I have found a lively interest in the Forbidden Country. By "lively" I do not imply friendly; it has frequently been the interest of bitter enemies eagerly awaiting news of the imminent demise of a hated foe.

On Russia opinions are as far apart as the poles. I can cite the following examples from personal experience. In Vienna I met a group of Americans who had come with the express purpose of visiting close relatives in Russia. They found their Russian visas awaiting them in Berlin and started for Khiev via Warsaw. On reaching Warsaw, they were overwhelmed with such stories of blood flowing daily in the streets of Moscow, of the continuance of the "nationalization" of women—indeed, its extension to all visiting women—of the general insecurity of life and personal property, that they fled precipitately from the very proximity of such a land of horrors. My presence in Vienna, generally intact, apparently hale and healthy, bringing with me both my hands with their ten fingers, and all other members, must have seemed like a miracle to them.

In Budapest eminent university professors evinced a profound interest about everything Russian, but they were astonished to find that I spoke of Leningrad, Stalingrad, Dnieperpotrovsk, calling them by their new names. They had not yet recognized Russia to that extent.

In Constantinople I met an intelligent American family of Russian ancestry. We had been over approximately the same territory with but a week's difference in time—and their experiences had in almost every case been the very opposite of mine. They knew only a Russia of backwardness, of economic disorganization, of ruthless suppression, of widespread dissatisfaction, of imminent revolution.

In London an American girl of Russian ancestry with her first citizen papers was obliged to make some arrangements at the American Consulate after several months in Russia. The mere fact of a stay in Russia made her an object of suspicion to this official. Who knows but she might be carrying a bomb in every pocket and have two others in her trunk? He subjected her to a merciless inquisition as to all her doings and all her opinions, and only after three days of waiting did he grant her permission to return to the United States.

By way of contrast take the following, likewise from personal experience: In Moscow we met an American girl who has lived there two years, happy and contented in her work, without the slightest desire of ever returning to this country. In the same city we were hailed one day by an American happily settled in Russia; he was a farmer from Kansas. An American woman, after nine months in the country, was on her way to the States with the purpose of arranging her affairs preparatory to establishing her home permanently in Russia. An American engineer spoke to us on a long street car ride and expressed his deep satisfaction with the five years he had now spent in Russia. An Englishman in Leningrad was so enthusiastic about the country that he had renounced his English citizenship and become a Russian citizen. In Moscow I met an Italian university professor who had been clubbed almost to death in Milan by the Fascisti and who was happy in his haven of refuge in Russia.

How curiously unreliable one's information may be about Russia can best be illustrated by the following incident. Walking along the main highway of Khiev we noticed a short distance ahead that the street was blocked by a huge crowd. Something serious had happened, for the pavement was stained with little pools of blood. On inquiry we were told that a Communist had started an argument with a bourgeois sympathizer and the result had been gun fire, in which both were killed. A minute's reflection made that tale seem too fantastic to believe without further verification. We approached others and discovered the actual facts, duly recorded in the papers next day: an auto had run over two children and killed them. Of such is news about Russia.

I will be pardoned, then, if I confine myself to things and events personally seen and encountered. Foremost among my impressions is the astonishing friendliness of the Russian people. A dozen times, at theaters, at athletic meets, at public meetings, have I seen Russians yield their places in the front rows when they were told that these places were wanted for a group of *Amerikanski turisti* here on a visit—and without the least hesitation or protest. I have been to Russian universities and, with faculty members as guides, examined for hours at a time their libraries and laboratories, their first editions and incunabula, and their astonishing collection of archive material, both originals and photostats. I have gone to children's homes as an "American tourist" and was given a guide who, for three hours, explained the organization, the methods, the goals of the institution. At one of these homes the gardener was a Serb, a former prisoner of

ar who had found the country of his imprisonment to is liking and stayed on. When he heard that Amer- an visitors were on the grounds, he brought each of hem a beautiful bouquet of flowers. For two days I ave enjoyed the generous hospitality of a group of *ovietski turisti*—lads from twelve to sixteen sent on acation by the government—who were overflowing ith curiosity about far away America, the land of dvanced technical development and efficient ma- hinery. Riding alone in a Russian train one night, I as solicitously "guarded" by a kind Russian to whom had been pointed out as an American *tovarish* (com- ade). When I alighted at various stations to drink ome *tchay* (tea), he watched my baggage and made ure that I got back on the train.

I might continue for pages with similar stories, but t these few suffice. Perhaps I was uncommonly lucky; erhaps another traveler could match every one of my leasant experiences with an unpleasant one. Certainly is true that Russia today is not a "tourist" country uch as the hordes of Americans are seeking in Europe. nyone going there to find the diversions of Paris, of onstantinople, of Budapest, of Vienna, is almost cer- ain to be disappointed. Of such was an American oman I met in a Moscow hotel, unspeakably unhappy, nd wishing nothing more fervently than that she might e back in "Joisy."

It is also true that Russia cannot be understood by comparison with America and western Europe. The ramework for an adequate picture of the country is s own past and the goals it has set itself. If the ountry is backward economically, if it lacks railroads, actories, machinery, if many "comforts," necessities f the West, are absent, this is largely the heritage it as taken over from the czars. On the other hand the ussian leaders would be the last to declare that the resent condition of the country is the achievement of heir ideal. They are building persistently, almost uriously, and they hope that in fifty years they will be loser to the new society they envisage.

WHAT will fascinate the American in Russia most is the fact that he is in a different world. Let im sit for a morning in a bureau of registration where irths and deaths, marriages and divorces are recorded. he clerks are friendly women, not hard-faced officious en. A woman enters to record a birth. Mother's ame? So and so. Father's name? Unknown. Child's ame? So and so. Finished. Legally registered as Russian and without stigma. Or at the divorce desk: nter a mite of a girl with a hesitant smile. She wants divorce. Where is her husband? Address given. ny children? Yes, one. She will provide for that s she has done in the past. No further questions. ivorce granted and husband notified. Enter another oman also for a divorce. Her husband has left the city and she gives his last address. No children. The husband will be notified of the divorce. No lawyers, no reasons asked, no fees. Step over to see the registration of marriages. Records are taken of names and residence. What name will the couple adopt—his, or hers, or will they retain their own? Have they any social disease? Sign that denial. If found to be untrue, five years imprisonment will result.

Go to the workers' recreation grounds, omnipresent in the country, with their athletic fields, opportunities for many games, restaurant, theater, band, and often children's grounds. Visit the factories where the workers choose their own directors and refuse to be hounded about as slaves. Note the presence of women in every kind of occupation from the lowliest to the highest. Go to the railroad stations and see the porters receiving not tips, but a fixed wage for their services. Talk to the university teachers and students and discover an entirely new life. Observe the strong anti-religious campaign waged in many places by posters, books, and exhibits (I think it wrong, however, to speak of religious persecution) despite which the number of religious adherents has actually increased during the last year.[1]

THOUGH the Russians did not begin a new calendar with their Revolution, as did the French a century back, a new world did come into being for the country. Outwardly it is apparent in such ironies as the conversion of former palaces into children's homes, sanitariums and tourist hotels in which one may see Russian lads and girls running barefooted over inlaid floors, playing on a piano formerly a part of the czar's houshold. Or in the sight of a red flag waving from a gilded tower on a church now used as a political headquarters or as the convention hall for a society of atheists. And then there is the omnipresence of Lenin. His picture is to be found in all public offices, in the theater, in the factories, in the schools, in the children's homes and nurseries, in the homes of city workers and peasants; his statue stands on hundreds of public squares; his books are spread throughout the land and are widely read and cited; his body lies in state on Red Square in Moscow and is viewed night after night by thousands in orderly, solemn procession.

In every manifestation of the intellectual life, there is a new Russia. Serious attempts are being made to

[1] Again I think that the proper perspective for this much discussed phase of Russian life is the Russian church before the Revolution. It was, of course, frankly in alliance with czarist despotism. Even *as religion* it can claim little for itself, if the present religious observances and such revealing places as the cave monastery in the Lavra in Khiev or the Troitzko—Sergiyevskaya Lavra outside of Moscow—are representative of the old. There is little spirituality in these. I may add a Spenglerian note. The Russian monarchy and the Russian church are very well symbolized in the architecture they fostered. The imperial palaces and many belonging to the nobility (e. g. Ostankino) as well as the churches are built of stucco and tin. Compare the cheap stucco palaces of Leningrad and Dyetskoye Selo (the former Tsarskoye Selo) with the stone walls of the Kremlin or the massive strength of western castles; or compare the stucco churches, their gilded tin domes now rusting away, with a Gothic cathedral or with the famous old stone St. Basil's in Moscow, and a fair picture is obtained of the hollowness and social uselessness of the former church and state.

reinterpret life, both in its past and present, in accord with the historic materialism of Marx and Lenin.[1] In the theater revolutionary themes are foremost, extending even to the ballet in the great favorite of this year, *Krasni maya* (The Red Poppy). The new literature is built on new themes and has a new point of view. The new art shows the same tendencies. The new museums are partly "revolutionary," glorifying Siberian martyrs, exhibiting revolting prison camps, picturing the revolutionary movement in Russia from the days of Pugachov and Stenka Razin down to the Decembrists, the Nihilists, the Terrorists, the Narodniki, and Lenin.

The outstanding impression borne upon me in Russia was the fact that here is a people, perhaps the only one in the world, which believes in an ideal fervently and seeks its achievement passionately. Russia holds that the capitalist way of life, its organization of society and the state is full of wrongs, hypocrisies, inequalities and stupidities. In its own system it sees a higher and nobler ideal. It would supplant selfishness by a social spirit, individualism by collectivism, the predominance and enrichment of the few by the welfare and well-being of all. The ideal can hardly be criticized; it is "an experiment noble in purpose." Whether or not the method chosen will reach the goal only the future can tell. Year by year the country is growing stronger. It is building itself economically by enormous efforts. The new generation is intelligent and enthusiastic and developing technical efficiency. Law and order prevail generally.

Not being subject to deportation and utterly impervious to epithets such as "Communist," I close with the hope that the Russian experiment in the new society may survive. We know what capitalism is and how it works. Speaking only for myself, I should like to see another system firmly and securely established, partly for its basis of comparison, partly for its sheer human interest, and partly for its great social promise.

[1] A curious sidelight is furnished by the intense hostility shown in the early years of the Revolution to all history study and teaching. It was considered socially useless and dangerous. Today there has been a complete swing-about, and history is being rewritten in the Marxian framework of the class struggle.

What Russia is Trying to Do

SHERWOOD EDDY

FOR a week I lived out among the villages in the heart of Russia, sleeping in haystacks, lodging with the peasants, studying the experiment that is now going on—the rapid socialization and industrialization of peasant agriculture in great communes and "collectives." The first day of my stay I explored an old ruined watch tower from which the former landlord of the estate had his serfs and, after their liberation in 1861, his peasants closely watched at their work with a spy-glass. Nearby was the whipping post where the serfs or peasants were chastized when necessary. Today this great estate is a Russian commune founded by fifty Russian immigrants who in 1921 returned from the United States to their native land. They started with nothing but their empty hands and these empty buildings. The first year they were so poor that they were reduced to eating crows and at times even weeds. Today the commune is composed of 238 persons and operates some fourteen hundred acres. Their nine modern tractors are working night and day on three eight-hour shifts.

The commune is as busy as a beehive and is rapidly extending its work by social service in the surrounding country. It has organized and is organically related to twelve collectives in the immediate vicinity. These embrace some 1,800 members, already cultivating over 7,000 acres. In the commune they share everything. In the collective, which may later develop into a commune, they share only their land and labor in coöperative farming. Both commune and collective are furnished with the best modern machinery, seeds, expert advice, and credit, with every advantage in low taxes, etc. This commune of 238 members was taxed last year only ninety-two dollars, which is less than the tax of a single rich peasant, probably less than farmers would pay in any other country in the world. Backed by the government, the commune and collectives are able to do what the individual farmer cannot hope to accomplish.

We found many individual peasants cultivating their small strips of ten or twelve acres by archaic methods. Their wooden plow was not in advance of that used by Abraham four thousand years ago, save that it had an iron point, or a broken spade in place of the primitive sharpened stick. We found them still threshing their grain by hand with a wooden flail, living in straw-roofed mud huts, shared with the few domestic animals which the more fortunate possess. The whole policy of the Government is to discourage individual accumulation of private property and to develop social accumulation through coöperative agriculture. The process of socialization is going on at a terrific speed and at present it looks as though it would succeed. We saw crowded coöperative stores selling articles at two per cent profit. We heard individual peasants bit-

terly complaining of hard times, heavy taxes, and seizures of grain, but always admitting that at the worst they are far better off than under the unforgotten oppressions of Czarism. We heard the members of the collectives telling of their privileges—lightened taxes, modern machinery, larger crops, increase of personal comforts and a higher standard of living. The revolution is now on in full force in the village, as it was a decade ago in the cities.

Already twelve million acres are being collectively operated by more than a million peasant families. During the last two years the yield of grain for the market from the collectives has increased ten-fold. At the present rate of progress, within five years they expect over forty million people, or a third of their 120,000,000 peasants, to be united by means of collectives in this new form of socialized agriculture. All this has the two-fold significance of the successful production of available grain and, what is much more important, the socializing and communizing of the most individualistic portion of their population. If this can be done, their whole experiment will be economically successful, since industry is already far ahead of agriculture.

After five hundred years of Czarism, the revolting intellectual leaders saw what seemed to them to be the failure of the system of capitalism, imperialism, militarism and recurring wars in the world in general and in Russia in particular. They saw the means of production, private property, profit and power concentrated in the hands of the relatively few, while the many were dependent upon them without security of life and often under the needless social injustice of widespread poverty and unemployment. The result was a world torn asunder between competing classes, races, and nations. These leaders believed that the root evil of the whole system was private property resulting in selfish individualism, mutually antagonistic classes, and imperialistic wars.

In place of this system they conceived another in complete antithesis to the old order, differing in aim, method, and in motivation. Their *aim* was the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, and the substitution of the good life for all upon an equal basis of social justice. Their *method* was the abolition of private property, the substitution of the common ownership of all means of production, and the socialization of the whole of life. Their *motivation* was to be not private profit but public service for social welfare. Could this vast transition be effected in a world of greed, strife, and injustice so deep-rooted that it seemed ingrained in human nature itself? They believed that it could. And it was due to their daring innovation that in the largest and most diverse country in the world this experiment was actually undertaken.

IN remote Russian villages, a thousand miles from anywhere, the plan is being carried out in government, in industry, in agriculture, in education, and the result is an almost completely socialized society. Private property for power is gone; all land and means of production are held in common.

Even if the three million workers in industry are socialized, the state would not be stable if it faced a hundred and twenty million individualistic and capitalistic peasants antagonistic to their social aim. The Government, therefore, inaugurated a drive to socialize and industrialize agriculture as they already had the factories and the cities. I shall endeavor to describe the Lenin Commune as I saw it in the center of European Russia.

A generation ago the impoverished workers who could escape left Czarist Russia in despair. As young men they were earning five and ten cents a day. Their fathers in grinding poverty were earning forty and fifty dollars a year. All the best land in the region was held by a few rich landlords, while the worst was worked by the peasants. There was Stephen, for example, who met me at the train. At the age of eighteen he left the farm where he was earning five cents a day, crept across the German border at night to escape from the Czarist regime, and emigrated to America. There he earned as high as twelve dollars a day in war time. After the Revolution, he had dreams of a new day in Russia. In 1922, he and fifty-two fellow workers pooled their savings, purchased agricultural machinery and supplies, and returned to Russia to found a colony. They were given 2,000 acres of land by the Soviet Government, and seven years ago they founded the Lenin Commune now numbering some four hundred and fifty persons. The value of their plant and invested capital, apart from the land, has increased from $20,000 to over $170,000. Each member of the commune receives forty to fifty cents a day in wages, from which he pays twenty cents for board. The commune supports all the children of the community, providing a preschool nursery up to the age of four, a kindergarten from the age of four to seven, a school from seven years upward, and sees the most capable children through college or university, where ten of whom are now studying.

THE center of gravity has shifted from the individual and the separate home to the community. Nowhere have I seen healthier, happier children. In play and work, coöperation becomes a life habit. From birth to death their whole training is not to get on in a struggle for individual acquisition, but for the welfare of the whole community. They seem to be on the way to demonstrating that men are not necessarily selfish by nature, by that they

may be trained as easily for service and for social acquisition as for self-seeking. I was likewise impressed by the fact that of all the men I talked with who had been in America and had tasted what was to them the fleshpots of prosperity and high wages, not one wanted to go back. They felt that America had taught them much, but that in Russia socially they could achieve more. None seemed to take advantage of the commune as an excuse for laziness. They had found only one slacker in seven years, and he was quickly eliminated. The commune has its own orchards, dairy, cheese factory, flour mill, foundry, saw-mill, and common dining room where the members share an excellent table. Their cultural life centers in a large clubhouse with its electrical installation, its radio, weekly movie, theatricals, recreational and educational features. The reading-room furnishes a hundred and thirty-five papers and periodicals.

During the nights I was present, interesting meetings were held in the clubhouse. The first was a war meeting for the registration of volunteers in case of war with China over the North Manchurian Railway. Since the futile Argos Raid upon their offices in London and a series of hostile aggressive acts on the part of China, Russia is increasingly convinced that she will have to fight a defensive war against invading armies from the West. There is marked evidence of a fear psychosis in Russia today. In the Lenin Commune when volunteers were asked for a possible war with China, in addition to the fourteen who are of draft age, twenty young men and women volunteered for service. No volunteers or candidates are called for any service or office unless all are open for both sexes equally.

One man alone in all the commune said he would not go to war. Accordingly at a meeting held on the second night, he was tried and permanently excluded from membership. On the third evening there was a youth meeting, followed by the weekly moving picture. A significant thing about these pictures is that the climax of the story is never in personal achievement, wealth or individual happiness, but in some social victory for the community. Last year there was a total attendance of over 200,000,000 at the moving picture houses throughout the country, and numbers are increasing rapidly each year. Russia is the one country that has not commercialized the motion picture but has made it a vast educational project.

A new peasantry is being evolved under the Soviet regime. The revolution has swept over the peasant with a cyclone of new ideas and practices. Whether he accepts them or resists them his children at least have broken from the old order. There are new posters, new movies, new institutions, new agricultural methods all about him. He sees the larger crops and better standard of living of his neighbors who have joined the collectives. However painful the process of transition for those of the older generation who cannot or will not change their habits of life, a new day has dawned for Russia. Probably greater changes are taking place today in the steppes of rural Russia than at any time in the last two thousand years.

Unquestionably one of the greatest experiments of history is being tried out in Russia—the experiment of a united, coöperative, socialized order in contrast to competitive, individualistic, nationalistic states. Today these untamed plains of potential wealth are being made to blossom as the rose. As far as the eye can reach, one sees an unbroken oasis—a golden paradise of ripened grain. This vast and rapidly extending plan of industrialized agriculture is changing not only the economic conditions of an age-long poverty; it is transforming the physical landscape and the mental psychology of the peasant. It is too early to predict how the plan will ultimately succeed, but for the sake of a hundred and fifty millions who have perhaps suffered more than any great nation in modern history, we can not but wish it well.

Russia

RESONANT bells
Resounding with revolt,
Dark heavy notes
That evolve
To scarlet-hued icicles—
Frozen statues
Of blood-colored
Ideals.

JOHN VAN BRAKLE

Utopia

WHEN I can say: "I wish to cross
Touchstone and dagger with that man,"
And see his gables neighbor mine,
Saddle to whim, and know I can—

When I can say: "This naiad girl,
This startling boy, must never go
Beyond these woods; let them remain
My ward, my thrall," and have it so—

When I can snare with artful words
The wise, the beautiful, the proud,
When I can choose my kith and kin
I'll have both company and crowd.

MARGARET TOD RITTER.

Not in the Headlines

Colored Sorority Wins Cup

Alpha Kappa Alpha, national colored sorority, with chapters in a number of colleges and state universities, won the scholastic cup for having the highest average last semester among all the sororities at the University of Kansas.

Anglo-American Relations

An Anglo-American Vigilante Committee, with branches in England and the United States, has been formed "which will make it its business to combat malicious propaganda" and to see that "the very satisfactory relations which now exist between the two countries should not, through inadvertence, be allowed to go backwards." Alfred C. Bossom, New York architect and philanthropist, and R. J. Caldwell, President Hoover's choice as president of Russian Relief, are in charge of the new committee.

Swiss Pacifists' Challenge

War resisters are sometimes said to be merely selfish and lazy cowards without the least love of country. Swiss pacifists resented this imputation. They offered an alternative for military service to the government. Let the government arrange for some constructive work which would demand efforts at least as hard as military service, and they would devote one-third more time to it than was asked in military service. A petition was circulated in the country and received 30,000 signatures. But the government would not entertain the proposal.

Education for Peace

In order to present a united front against military conscription and military training and to protest against the continued imprisonment of war resisters, the Joint Advisory Council was recently organized in Geneva by the following international peace organizations: Friends' Peace Committee; War Resisters' International; International Fellowship of Reconciliation; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; International Union of Anti-Militarist Ministers and Clergymen; International Bureau against War and Reaction; Syndicalist International; International Co-operative Women's Guild; Friends' Service Council.

Child Labor Activities

The evil of child labor which still exists in many industries throughout the United States was brought to the attention of educators, social and religious workers at the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the National Child Labor Committee, held in New York in December. Among the speakers were Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Governor of New York; Felix Adler, Owen R. Lovejoy, Grace Abbott, Chief of the Federal Children's Bureau, Rabbi A. H. Silver of Cleveland, Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, President of Union Theological Seminary, and Anne S. Davis. Miss Davis is head of the vocational guidance and child labor division of President Hoover's coming conference on child health and protection. At the conference, it was announced that National Child Labor Day will be observed in 1930 as follows: in synagogues on Saturday, January 25; in churches on Sunday, January 26; in schools, clubs, and other secular organizations on Monday, January 27.

Pacifists Must Join Salvation Army

In New Zealand conscientious objectors to military service are to be permitted an alternate form of service with the Salvation Army. The Minister of Defense has sanctioned this method of solution for the difficulties of pacifists.

Caring for the Aged

Some form of old age protection for all or certain classes of wage earners has been adopted in thirty-eight countries other than the United States. This means that more than one-third the entire population of the world is now covered by various forms of state aid for the aged. In most of these countries the pensionable age is sixty to sixty-five. China, India and the United States are now the only large countries still remaining without some national form of old age protection.

League of Nations Wireless

The League of Nations is to have a wireless station of its own. Because Geneva itself is so shut in by mountains, the actual station will be located at Prangins, northeast of the city. It is to be a short-wave station, powerful enough to reach League members in all parts of the world. In normal times the Radio-Suisse Company of Switzerland will operate the station, but the League will have a trained staff able to take over complete operation in times of crisis when there is urgent need of communication with its members.

Prison Population

According to a report issued by the Bureau of the Census, the Department of Commerce, prison population in dry states has been increasing the last few years, while it has been decreasing in wet states. Maine, Kansas, North Carolina, Nebraska and Minnesota, all dry states, show an increase of 75 to 100 percent in the number of prisoners per 100,000 population admitted between 1904 and in 1927. In New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Montana and Louisiana, all wet states, the ratio between the number of prisoners and the total population has been steadily reduced over the same period of years. Throughout the United States generally the liquor law violators numbered 4.5 percent per 100,000 population in 1923; in 1926 the ratio had increased to 6.1 per 100,000 population.

When Buying Candy

The Consumers' League of New York, following a study of the candy industry of the state, worked out a code of standards including decent sanitary conditions in candy factories, shorter hours of work, and increased wages—the latter being interpreted to mean a minimum wage of fourteen dollars per week. Consumers' Leagues in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Ohio joined in this work, and a "White List" was published containing the names of all candy manufacturers observing these standards. Voluntary wage agreements have been entered into by 91 of these manufacturers who make some of the most widely known five-cent bars and "hand-dipped" or "home-made" chocolates. The third Candy White List, issued in December, 1929, may be obtained from the National Consumers' League, 156 Fifth Ave., New York City.

Communism: A World Movement

ANNA ROCHESTER

COMMUNISM is the workers' international movement of revolutionary change from capitalism to socialism. It includes a more distant goal, but it is in no sense utopian. It expresses and guides the revolt of the working class against exploitation by the owners of the means of production. A clear formulation of the class struggle, both as a fact in the capitalist world and as the method of revolutionary change, is a central point in Communist thinking and Communist tactics.

The Socialist (Second) International has repudiated this doctrine of the class struggle. The American Federation of Labor has never accepted it. Liberals pooh-pooh it. In the United States there has been enough passing of individuals from one class to another to veil the reality of struggle between the classes. But two generations of militant strikes and of class-conscious actions by employers, courts and militia are more significant of class realities than the individuals who have climbed out of the working class to head great anti-union corporations.

Even more important in the long run are the everyday facts of industrial life. The employing class uses the workers as a means for producing profits. The financial standing of a company always comes first in the minds of the directors. And the minute the pinch of crisis touches an industry the legend of high wages and concern for the workers collapses. This is already brutally apparent in the United States in coal and textiles.

The class-consciousness of the owners is strongly developed, and it is one important function of press, schools and churches to prevent a corresponding growth of class-consciousness among the workers. The offensive of the working class just after the war was met by a counter-offensive of the employers, with a rapid growth of company unions, an increase in espionage and blacklisting of active workers, and in some quarters more corrupting of union officials, in others open drives against union labor.

During the 150 years since the invention of steam engine and spinning jenny, capitalism has moved from a local to a national, and finally to an international basis. Its conflicts with the workers, as well as between rival groups in its own ranks, are now fought on world lines. In this latest stage of capitalist development, responsibility for breaking through the financial-imperialist struggle, and responsibility for resisting intensified exploitation, rest squarely with the workers. Potentially, the workers—and only the workers—have the drive and the power to overthrow capitalism. Only the workers, in a workers' non-capitalist world, can transform the advance of industrial technique from a means of exploitation into a tool of human progress.

Even to state this seems absurd to most Americans. They hear of the high wages of a few A. F. of L. craftsmen. They know that wages here are higher than in any European country. But this is only part of the picture. Advance figures from the 1927 Census of Manufactures indicate that average annual earnings of factory wage-earners are still below $1,300 a year, or less than two-thirds of the amount necessary to cover the family budget which the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics calls a "minimum for health and decency." Industry is drifting to low-wage Southern states. The total numbers employed are decreasing and craftsmen are being steadily displaced by semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Before long the "prosperity" illusions which have cast a temporary spell over certain sections of the American working class will be shattered.

Yet in spite of hostile propaganda from labor officials, and in spite of widespread "prosperity" illusions, more than 40,000 workers cast their votes for the Communist ticket in November, 1928.

Occasional mass walk-outs of unorganized workers—as recently in rayon plants, in automobile factories, in textile mills—show that efficiency methods and speed-up are rousing resentment among the rank and file. A beginning has been made toward building Left Wing unions.

ABROAD, the workers have learned from the crushing experiences of post-war years that they have no future and only a disastrous present under capitalism. But mass action wavers, under conflicting slogans. The trade union officials both in Great Britain and on the continent talk a great deal against capitalism, but practically they support policies aimed at patching up capitalist industry and weakening working class resistance in their several countries.

Communists have stood for militant resistance all along the line. They have tried to push the unions into aggressive class-conscious action and they have had far wider rank and file support than appears either from the membership of the Communist parties or from their failures to unseat the right-wing union officials. Details have varied from country to country, but the struggle within the unions is essentially the same everywhere and leads first to rules against Communists in

office, then to expulsion of Communist members. Meanwhile rank-and-filers drop out of the unions in disgust, for efforts of their officials to coöperate in rationalization and efficiency do not benefit the workers. More than once, unorganized workers have shown more militancy than the unions. Independent strikes under left-wing leadership lead naturally to the forming of left-wing unions affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions.

Communists and Socialists are also sharply opposed on questions of imperial policy. While Socialists deplore excesses of tyranny, and support, for example, a measure of home rule for India within the British Empire, Communists welcome the colonial uprisings in India and China as hastening a crisis in imperialist capitalism and preparing the way for revolutionary action. It is especially noteworthy that the Kuomintang became affiliated with the Second International only after the Chinese business elements had driven the Chinese revolutionists out of the party and were carrying on a veritable terror against workers and peasants.

LONG before the war, the international Socialist movement had within itself Right and Left groups with quite diverse views as to the interpretation of history and the way in which the change from capitalism to socialism could be effected. When the European Socialist parties betrayed the principles adopted explicitly at Bâle in 1912 and supported the national governments on the outbreak of war in 1914, certain Left groups remained true to the international working class.

Lenin and other Bolsheviks of the Russian Social-Democratic Party, and a few delegates representing minority socialist groups in other countries, met at Zimmerwald in 1915 and at Kienthal in 1916 to consider the possibility of immediate united action. Lenin proposed energetic revolutionary propaganda among the workers in the factories and in the armies. The Bolsheviks in Russia and Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in Germany were already carrying on such work. But there were many sharp differences of opinion among the delegates and no united organization resulted. Only to the Bolsheviks was it already clear that a separate Third International must be organized.

In the autumn of 1918, the question of a Third International was again discussed. Communist or "left" Socialist parties had broken entirely with the Social-Democrats in Germany, Austria, Hungary, the Balkans, Sweden, Finland and a few other countries before the Russian Bolsheviks issued the call for the international congress at which, in March, 1919, the Third or Communist International was organized.

This Third International is now a world-wide organization made up of affiliated parties or groups in every country and directed by an international committee. Six international congresses have discussed the problems of the movement and adopted principles which determine the actions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the affiliated parties.

As a political group the Communists participate in elections wherever this is possible and they have substantial minorities in the parliamentary bodies of Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, and Finland, and a few representatives in nearly a dozen other countries. Such political action is useful for reaching a wider audience and rousing the workers, and for blocking the policies of the capitalist class. The Communists also push for drastic immediate measures to protect workers from the effect of industrial exploitation. But they do not support Socialist measures for nationalization of industries under capitalist governments. They do not seek to accomplish the economic revolution by parliamentary action within the capitalist state.

PARALLEL with the Comintern (the revolutionary political organization) is the Red International of Labor Unions. Of course the largest body in this organization is the All-Russia Federation of Labor Unions with its ten million members. But the R.I.L.U. includes also the Confédération Générale de Travail Unitaire, comprising about one-fourth of all organized workers in France; a strong group of Left Wing unions in Czechoslovakia; the principal unions in Chile; considerable groups in the Baltic States and in southeastern Europe. Elsewhere Communist minorities, affiliated with the R.I.L.U., have been active in the regular unions, and only in recent months a few separate Left-Wing unions have been started. In the United States the Trade Union Educational League had worked for years within the old unions and is now building a new federation of Left Wing Unions. Unlike the International Federation of Trade Unions (commonly called the Amsterdam International), which has only recently drawn in certain Oriental labor groups, the R.I.L.U. has always included workers in Asia and Africa.

The Communist International seeks to coöperate with such non-Communist movements as express mass discontent or threaten to disturb imperialist-capitalist equilibrium, while at the same time it tries to educate the workers to desire more revolutionary action than any non-Communist leaders will endorse. This principle is the key to many apparent inconsistencies in Communist tactics. This policy does not, however, include even temporary endorsement or coöperation with "bourgeois" reform bodies or such labor bodies of capitalist governments as the International Labor Office at Geneva.

The Communist regards the League of Nations as an alliance of imperialist governments, set off against the Soviet Union. The Russian proposal for complete

universal disarmament revealed the utter sham and futility of all League negotiations on disarmament, and the official awareness that the capitalist political world is essentially unstable. He believes that no capitalist League and no pacifist propaganda can prevent future wars between empires—to say nothing of military expeditions into colonial and other dependent territories. More positively, official peace gestures are cultivated by capitalist governments to conceal active preparation for war. The Kellogg Pact paralleled actions of sharply anti-British hostility and the endorsement of a defiant naval program. Locarno strengthened the League of Nations as an anti-Soviet alliance. At the same time unofficial peace organizations which attack many official actions tend to divert attention from the underlying causes of conflict inherent in the capitalist system. They thus do positive harm by superficial analysis while their activity gives a false appearance of progress.

The Communist International is concerned primarily in preparing the way for international proletarian revolution. It knows that the capitalist class and its governments will continue to use every possible weapon to crush revolutionary action, and the seizure of power by the working class cannot be accomplished without a period of armed struggle.

There will be no uniform development, for the situation varies from country to country. The United States will be one of the last strongholds of capitalism. But quite apart from the Communist International, many forces are at work in this post-war world to prepare revolutionary crises. Rationalization of industry is increasing unemployment, intensifying exploitation, and steadily sharpening international competition, while the forces of decay within capitalism will certainly bring recurring industrial crises of increasing severity. The great proletarian socialist state by the very fact of its existence disturbs the capitalist economy and increases the restlessness of the workers. The pressure of Oriental production, competing in the export markets of imperial industries, leads to further attacks on workers' living standards in the West. The contrast grows ever greater between the riches of the capitalist class and the poverty of the working class. Last, but by no means least, the subjects in colonial countries are already in open revolt. Whether the revolution will break out in any country before the imperial conflicts lead to war, or whether the war itself must first shake the European nations into an effectively revolutionary situation, few are rash enough to predict.

But Communists are convinced that socialism can be achieved only by revolutionary action; that no peaceful evolution from capitalism into socialism is possible, but only further stages of crisis and collapse. In preparing the way for revolution they are working with elemental forces, essentially inherent in capitalist society.

AN important part in Communist thinking is played by the theory of the State. This is set forth by Lenin in a little book entitled *The State and Revolution,* in which he analyzed the teachings of Marx and Engels and refuted Karl Kautsky's nationalist and non-revolutionary perversions of Marxian theory in regard to the state. A careful study of this book is essential to any genuine understanding of the Communist movement. Only the barest outline of part of the argument can be attempted here.

The state is not and never has been an impartial force, representing society as a whole, but always the organ of the dominant economic class. The form of the state changes with the passing of power from one economic class to another. The modern "democratic" state is the organ of capitalist property. But any explicit recognition of the class issues between wage-workers and the owners of the means of production is seldom formulated by the capitalist state, even after it has built up a tremendous body of legislation, court law, and administrative practice which expresses unmistakably the supremacy of property and the capitalist class over any human rights with which property rights conflict.

The essential point in the Communist revolution is the seizure of government, which will frankly hold power for the working class and against the capitalist class. For the veiled dictatorship of the capitalist class, Communists will substitute an open and consistent dictatorship by the working class. This has been the course in Russia.

The purpose of the proletarian dictatorship is to build up a new economic order from which capitalism is eliminated and to prepare for a free society without classes and without coercion. In the Soviet Union, the only country where such a dictatorship yet exists, it has seemed oppressive to those who cling to their divine right to live by the ownership of capital. It has dealt severely with leaders of counter-revolution whether they were "whites" or former revolutionaries. It was turned against Trotsky when he resorted to underground organization against the government.

THE capitalist world, including the Socialist movement, denounces the Communist dictatorship as iniquitous, both because individuals hostile to Communism have been punished and executed and because no anti-Communist parties and press are permitted. The Communist can of course point to more severe measures, far more numerous executions, more drastic suppression of civil liberties under various capitalist governments and governments in which Socialists have participated. Idealists who are powerless to soften the cruelties of capitalism—and especially those men and women who enjoy a privileged position as members of the capitalist class—are in no position to condemn the

principle or the acts of this proletarian dictatorship.

The Russian workers, under Communist leadership, undertook in the midst of an aggressively hostile world a gigantic experiment in economic engineering. They can brook no interference. This basic purpose must be assumed. No organized attempt to substitute another basis of society can be permitted. But in the carrying out of this purpose the widest freedom of discussion is permitted. Constructively, in the day by day relations between experts, managers, and rank and file workers, the developments in Soviet industry have been already most fruitful in the field of liberty.

What world communism would seek to accomplish for the workers can be judged from the great achievements already to be recorded for the Soviet Union, both in the economic progress away from capitalism and in the condition of the working class.

ALL basic industrial production and transportation in Russia, all foreign trade and banking are carried on by the workers' state. A majority of the wholesale trade and a steadily increasing minority of retail trade are removed from the realm of private profit and conducted either by the state or the consumers' coöperatives. Industrial equipment has been greatly improved and output has been pushed well above pre-war levels. The state trusts operate still on a commercial basis, reckoning profit and loss and turning to the state-owned banks for borrowed funds. The surplus from industry is directed to the expansion of industry under the guidance of the State Planning Commission. State bonds have been floated, also, to secure additional capital. But private profit—the supposedly essential dynamic under capitalism—has ceased to function in the whole vast field of state-owned industry and coöperative distribution in the Soviet Union. A general contempt for the small group of Nepmen—who still survive with a dwindling share of trade—has pushed them into a despised and chilly isolation. The well-to-do peasants, or kulaks, are petty farmers who, released from feudal landlords, are having a little fling at bossing poorer peasants, but they are hemmed about by many restrictions. Survival of the Soviet economy demands a delicate balance between these restrictions and the stimulating of agricultural production while peasant producers' coöperatives and large state-owned farms are being multiplied and developed.

For Russian workers the standard of daily living is still very simple. But wages have risen and the great haunting fears of unemployment, illness, and old age have been dispelled by the most comprehensive social insurance system in the world. Hours of work are shorter than in any other country. The social and cultural life of the labor unions and workers' clubs is extraordinarily rich and varied. The workers feel the responsibility for industry. They control their working conditions. They know that further upbuilding of industry will raise the standard of living throughout the country with no privileged class drawing off the product for personal enrichment. Frank discussion of all problems, strong union organization, union representation on all state economic and industrial bodies, and the utter absence of a capitalist class exploiting the workers give the Russian factories an atmosphere of freedom and intelligent participation and human liveliness which words cannot convey.

Still this is not yet Communism. The length of the transition period in the Soviet Union and the exact form which the next stage in development will take must depend largely on the course of events in other countries. But schools, the life of the Communist Party, and the Communist Youth, the life of the workers and peasants in unions and in factory and village soviets, and the solving of problems week by week in the great laboratory of a living social-economic experiment, are preparing the way for further development—the development from socialism to communism which is bound to come.

Meantime, the importance of what has already been achieved in the Soviet Union reaches far out beyond its boundaries. The effective upbuilding of Soviet industry shows that decisive creative work can shape a new economic order. The brief period of chaos involved in the revolutionary struggle does not lead back to the old society. The new order in the Soviet Union stirs fresh hope in the suffering, struggling workers elsewhere, who see that capitalists and landlords are not eternally supreme. The very fact that so large a territory is cut off from the capitalist economy increases the instability of the capitalist world and hastens the crisis which must inevitably precede revolution in other countries.

War

THE unburied dead in windrows down the field;
Upon the sergeant's lips a humorous quirk;
And from his throat a chuckle and the words:
"God! but I'll tell the world that's pretty work."

FREDERICK HALL.

I have often wondered that persons who make boast of professing the Christian religion—namely, love, joy, peace, temperance, and charity to all men—should quarrel with such rancorous animosity, and display daily toward one another such bitter hatred that is, rather than the virtues which they profess, the readiest criterion of their faith.—*Spinoza.*

A Critique of Russian Communism

JEROME DAVIS

EVERY social movement in history must be judged in the light of its historical antecedents as well as by its achievements and the progress which it has made in eliminating injustice. The evils of the reactionary, hypocritical Czar's regime were great. Communism is a step forward in comparison. Bolshevik leaders with their dream of a new and better social order will be remembered not alone because of their mistakes, but also because of their service to the world in completely destroying antecedent evils in Russia. The devotion and sacrifice which the Communist leaders showed in spite of exile, prison, and death, deserve emulation.

Every movement must be finally appraised not by its weaknesses alone, but by the totality of forces which it helped to set in motion. The Communist rulers seized the resources of a great country, embracing one-sixth of the land surface of the earth, yet renounced the opportunity to enjoy for their selfish personal pleasure the material benefits so acquired. They conscientiously tried to use the natural resources of the country for what they believed to be the best interests of the overwhelming mass of workers and peasants in Russia and throughout the world. We must admire their courage, sincerity, and devotion to duty as they saw it, while strongly opposing some of the principles for which they suffered or died. It would be fitting in America, which has published more calumnies against Communism than against any other political movement, to show some of the more favorable aspects of the Communist leaders and of the Communist movement. This task, however, has been given to another, and the writer turns his attention to those aspects of the situation with which he disagrees. It should be borne in mind that he may unconsciously reflect his American culture and perhaps his bourgeois associations, but he has tried to present the truth as he sees it. Nevertheless, Russians may wish to use this as an example of capitalistic class psychology; but they should bear in mind that every group is to some extent prejudiced and Communists are no exception to the rule. The writer certainly recognizes that in the light of the evils in our own social and economic structure we have scant ground for throwing stones abroad. Considering their background and the heritage of a Czar's tyranny the Bolsheviks may have accomplished relatively more than many of us here with our democratic culture and our tradition of liberty. This article taken by itself will not give a fair picture of what is happening in Russia. Every American should also know the other side; he is urged to visit Soviet Russia to see and appraise conditions for himself.

If a visitor from Mars should suddenly find himself in a position to observe what was happening in Russia his first query might be, "What are they trying to do?" He would be told that the goal of communism is a state characterized by:

1. The basic means of production and distribution under the collective will.
2. No classes—one society of producers.
3. No great state power but free associations of toilers.
4. No antagonism between town and village.
5. A distributive mechanism controlled on the principle: to each according to his need, from each according to his ability.
6. A world system of economics.

THE visitor from Mars might be greatly impressed with the "nobility of these ideals," but he would after all test Communism largely by its present tactics. He then might be amazed to discover that in building the structure the Communists to some extent have diametrically contradicted their principles. For instance, they posit no antagonism between town and village, yet actually there is continual friction and distrust between the ordinary village peasant and the city proletariat. The Bolsheviks aim to abolish classes, but frankly laud a class psychology based on the factory worker and the "dirt farmer" or peasant. In principle they oppose a great state power, in practice they have built up one of the strongest state political machines in history. The question inevitably arises whether any group can achieve ends via contradictory means.

It is conceivable that the Martian might partially excuse these inconsistencies as part of the birth pains of the new social order. He would, however, be amazed by the dogmatic self-assurance of the Communist theoreticians, who contend that what they term Communism holds the key for the abolition of all evils and, if universally adopted, would mean the dawn of the millennium. The Martian might question this sweeping assumption and reason somewhat as follows:

In the abysmal ignorance to which the Earthians are still subject, is it not a caricature of truth to assume that any plan formulated by them now can have universal validity or be final. The Communists forget the complexity of the world. Their remedy is like a patent medicine. It may do more good than harm in the case of a terrible malady such as Czarism, but in more normal complaints it might be injurious, or even

fatal. What the Earthians in their present ignorance need is many and varying kinds of political experimentation. Communism in Russia is an interesting political device for educating the Russian workers and peasants. Other countries need quite different types of political control. In the light of varying experiments each country will learn from the mistakes and achievements of the other and the political system finally worked out will be unlike any now existant. Communists should recognize that an economic mechanism which may be right for Russia may be wrong for America, that labor union tactics which aid the workers of Russia may be paralyzing to the far different culture of England. The Communists are reasoning too exclusively from their limited environmental setting and hence are trying to reform the world unreasonably. The rigid control and direction of Communist parties in other countries by the dominant Russian wing is unjustified.

If the visitor from Mars were to remain long in Russia, he would find that every party orator accepted the theories of Marx including the materialistic concept of history as communistic gospel. Yet he would find that the lives of the Communists themselves belie the theory. Apparently many of the older revolutionists have been willing to give their lives for an ideal; service to a class became their religion. The materialistic concept is further negated by the fact that while the Communists have set aside wealth and the profit motive as diabolic lust for gain, many of their leaders worship at the shrine of power. This can readily be seen in the inner disputes within the Communist party, where scarcely any one of the old leaders is willing to give up positions of power and prestige. Zinoviev made an extraordinary fight against being deprived of his leadership in Leningrad. Stalin uses political methods strongly akin to some American varieties to keep himself in the key position within the Communist Party. Trotsky fought so vigorously against being deprived of power that he tried to set up an illegal rival party machine, and even now in exile Trotsky claims a secret organization and supporters in the army.

IT is conceivable that Communist theory may be, and probably is, wrong in various particulars. Certainly the Bolsheviks themselves ever since taking the power have been changing their technique to make it work. In the early days of the Russian revolution the Bolsheviks attempted to confiscate all the peasants' grain above actual living requirements. Today they tax them on a fixed scale approaching the method used in capitalistic countries. The Communists used to assail bitterly the piece-rate system of production. Today they have installed the output test and are lauding mass production and capitalistic theories of rationalization. Once a gold secured currency was "a device of the devil," today they are trying desperately to keep their currency on a gold basis without depreciation. Once the Bolsheviks in large measure tried to equalize wages, today they permit wide variations; expert capitalists and inventors may even become millionaires. While these changing methods may do credit to the Bolsheviks and show their adaptability to the concrete realities of present conditions, they can only under great strain be reconciled with orthodox Communistic theory.

Communism is also at fault in its rigid acceptance of dogmatic atheism. It is not surprising that men who were brought up in contact with an orthodox religion supported and controlled by a dying Czar's autocracy should oppose all religion. To some extent in trying to substitute science for superstition the Bolsheviks are rendering service. Dr. Spinka of the Chicago Divinity School after a study of religion under the Soviets maintains that the Bolsheviks have done genuine religion more service in ten years by fighting it than the Czar's government did in a century of supporting it. Nevertheless, the Bolsheviks seem to be totally unable to comprehend that there may be a religion which is in harmony with the best that science teaches. Accepting the scientific philosophy dominant in their university days the Communists have not fully accepted the revolution which science itself has undergone. The work of Eddington, Milliken, and Einstein with the potential religious implication of the changed scientific outlook seem lost on the Communistic mind. They do not recognize the possibility of a religion which accepts every scientific law and is itself working in the interests of truth and on behalf of the workers and peasants.

Bolshevism destroys and persecutes religion in the name of truth. But in trying to destroy all that goes under the name of religion they may in reality be attacking part of truth itself. The religion they are fighting is a caricature of religion at its highest and best. Yet in their fanaticism they do not realize that in this mysterious universe in which humanity finds itself, there may be forces within religion which are as true and scientific as sunlight or nature—even matter. Yet the Bolsheviks would prohibit anyone who has faith in any form of Christianity from belonging to their party. In so doing they prove themselves fanatics of dogmatic atheism. They permit the most absurd propaganda to circulate freely—for instance, books arguing that Jesus Christ never existed, or that in reality Christ was a libertine and a selfish exploiter. It may be argued that for the sake of freedom of press this is defensible, but then why should they prohibit and censor books and periodicals which defend religion in the light of the highest scientific knowledge we have? To be sure the churches are open, religious freedom for the individual exists, but church schools

are in the main debarred. No one who expresses fearlessly his faith in a living God and tries to convert others to share his faith can be sure what persecution he may suffer.

The method which the Bolshevik censor has used with religious periodicals is to remove everything interesting and allow to circulate only that which is dull. Lately the Russian government has even passed a law prohibiting the church from doing social service and welfare work. This is, if anything, even more unfair to a religious faith than the restrictions regarding religious education. How can religion be anything but a mockery of the Christ spirit if it does not translate its creed into definite service for the peasants and workers? In reality in requiring a rigid divorce between applied Christianity and Christian theory, the Bolsheviks are negating the inner essence of religion. It is strange that at this point the Bolsheviks should join hands with some of the most reactionary capitalists. For in America conservative and wealthy interests are continually asking the church to refrain from applying the social implications of the Christian faith to our social order—precisely the Bolshevik position.

BESIDES the objections already raised, some of the methods of Communism are questionable. For instance, even such a historic method as mass violence may in the end prove to be too costly. It is commonly said that "the end justifies the means." But violence makes absolutely impossible the highest end until a better means is found. In other words, belief in a force psychology may finally prove fallacious. To be sure the Bolsheviks do not believe in revolution unless it can be successful, and it is generally true that the masses of mankind are too patient and long-suffering to revolt unless there exists real injustice. On the other hand, the preaching of the doctrine that little or no progress can come outside of Russia except by violence and bloody revolutionary movements is preposterous. Yet while most Americans will agree that the Russians are wrong in their advocacy of force, capitalist countries have scant grounds for opposing Communism on the basis of violence. If Belgium is invaded, we assume a nation is justified in sending armies to protect her. If American property is threatened, we feel we have a right to send marines and airplanes to kill men in South America to protect our economic rights. The Communists share our faith in violence; they differ in their concepts of injustice. They feel that injustice is being done to millions of our workers in capitalistic countries. This injustice justifies revolutionary violence. The violence caused by the world war which, directly or indirectly, destroyed thirty-five millions, may be just as dangerous, or more so, than the communist theory of violence and revolution. However, it is conceivable that both theories may be wrong. The costs of success in either case may not be commensurate with the progress achieved.

A formula of coöperation is higher than a formula of power through bloodshed. Here again the dogmatism of the Communists who, because they have once succeeded in winning power through revolution, thereupon preach revolution as the only road to truth, beauty, and happiness for all, is extremely dubious. Their formula to some extent is a class formula. They would rule out as enemies all those who do not belong to the one class. Their ideal is a future society in which there shall be only a group of workers. But the technique of violence and bloodshed may inevitably perpetuate various classes rather than annihilate all except one. Such a philosophy is unfair to other classes, and it tends to build up hatred in the minds and hearts of both the dominant and persecuted groups. Hatred is always a destructive force and tends to destroy truth, beauty, and happiness. Therefore, the reaction against hatred is divisive, it creates classes. If one believes in opposing injustice wherever it exists, Communism in its attempt to destroy all classes except the orthodox and approved workers, is unconsciously opposing certain groups who are working self-sacrificingly for the good of all along different lines. Then, too, may not Communism have too completely ignored the individual in its philosophy just as capitalism may have gone much too far in ignoring social philosophy? If this is true, we should expect to see the slow pressure of societal evolution forcing America into collective channels and Russia into more of individualism. To some extent there has been a trend in both countries to warrant such an hypothesis.

RUSSIA has decreed the socialization of both industry and agriculture. But to build an industrial nation requires large purchases of machinery from abroad. It has been thought that this could be paid for with grain. The peasant, however, refuses to deliver his grain except as he receives in return manufactured supplies at low cost. If grain is not forthcoming in sufficient quantities and manufactured food products are exported instead, then there follows scarcity in Russia with rationing and discontent among the city proletariat. So Russia tries to attract foreign capital through a more liberal concession policy and through offering more attractive rewards to the individual who produces gold, platinum, lumber, grain, et cetera. But this is inconsistent with the theory of Communism. Another concomitant of too rigid state ownership and control may be bureaucracy. Certainly Russia is afflicted with this disease, as the Bolsheviks themselves recognize all too well.

It also seems that Communist theory of the abso-

lute supremacy of the group at every point may to some extent make them deny the principle of the infinite worth of each human personality. According to their theory any life should be sacrificed wherever necessary for the good of the cause. This opens the door to the Red Terror. The Communists themselves admit that they have been harsh to monarchists, millionaires and the old intellectual classes. In fact, the persecution of these classes has been most cruel and bitter. The extent of the Red Terror, while understandable, seems to have been very much greater than was essential, even assuming that it was necessary at all. To be sure, the Red Terror was no worse than the White Terror. From various investigations it is doubtful if it was as bad; but two wrongs do not make either right.

POSSIBLY the gravest objection to Communism as at present conducted is its lack of liberty. Liberty in Russia is a class liberty. The masses of the peasants and workers are free, but there is a legality for one political party only—the Communist Party. It is questionable whether one party machine, no matter how self-critical, can assemble all the wisdom in the universe, so as to be free from serious blunders; but in Russia anyone who opposes the party in action is considered a traitor. The Communists started out by granting freedom within the party; they end by denying freedom to those who differ within the party. All history teaches that political parties make irreparable mistakes. But Communism rigorously forbids any minority from challenging a policy once it has been adopted. Does not this pave the way for costly errors and irretrievable blunders? If this policy had been dominant in the United States it would have meant the imprisonment of William Lloyd Garrison and the abolitionists on the slavery issue. Certainly it can hardly be assumed even by the Communists that the majority is always right.

It is certain that had Lenin lived, for instance, the recent party split would never have assumed present proportions. Some way would have been found to use the Trotsky opposition for the benefit of the party and their cause. Granting that even today there is a great measure of self-criticism permitted, nevertheless, seeing that leaders who have done so much for communism as Trotsky are expelled from the party and exiled from the country, one is inevitably convinced that as with some of our early religious forefathers, freedom is rigidly limited to those who interpret the faith along lines strictly orthodox and acceptable to those in power.

THE Communists have a rigid control of the press, and there is censorship of everything. Nothing is printed which is not passed on and approved by Communists. There is a rigid control of the theatre, moving pictures, and radio. Pacifists do not have the right to broadcast. There is a strict control of organizations and meetings; even within the party there is such strict control that in the past it was treason to publish Lenin's last statement to the party. Only the ruling group were in a position to interpret what was legitimate criticism and what was illegitimate. Consequently, the rank and file are unable to hear the case of a man who opposes the major clique at any point. To an impartial onlooker it would seem as if the Russian Soviet government is now so firmly established and impregnable that it should welcome criticism from minority groups and practice toleration rather than suppression. As radicals, should not Communists be jealous in guarding those minority groups who are fighting sincerely for an ideal? In actual fact the Communists have far more rigidly persecuted war resisters than we have in America.

In spite of the fact that a very strong case can be made against Communism, there has been a real spiritual liberation in Russia which has followed the Revolution. For Communism is a spiritual force. It holds up the ideal of economic liberty and equality. Communism is not free from intellectual error. It is blind, it is dogmatic, but it has made its way in spite of these faults by its idealism and its spiritual hope rather than its materialistic promise. Most faiths make their way because of their ideals and in spite of their faults. Humanity is responsive to any group which is sincere and sacrifices for a cause which it holds true. The answer to such a new faith is not suppression and persecution, but rather the building of a social order in which there is less injustice, more of brotherhood. We must meet the challenge of Communism by creating a nation which has more truth, beauty, equality, and liberty for all the working classes.

To Builders of Skyscrapers

LET not the impotence of steel and stone
In any subtle fusion gain your trust.
The name of Babel's builder is unknown,
And Babel long has been a nameless dust.

What though at last you conquer sun and rain,
And heap confusion on the sharp-toothed wind?
You dare not think your towers will sustain
The buffeting of man's inconstant mind.

EARL DANIELS

For us it is the question to create at this very moment one united front against war. Let us decree resistance, opposition, the refusal, the "absolute No" to all war.—*Romain Rolland, July 24, 1928.*

Clippings

Some May Disagree

In spite of everything, the world *IS* becoming a better place to live in. War is becoming less of a likelihood, and birth control is becoming more universal. And these are the two indispensable conditions of the beginning of a *really* civilized existence: Universal Peace and Universal Birth Control. With these two blessings assured, the world's five greatest evils, namely, poverty, fear, disease, ignorance and intolerance will gradually disappear.—*Dr. W. J. Robinson,* Critic and Guide, *October, 1929.*

Courts and Criminals

It is possible to trace in all of our courts at the present moment, what has been called "dual philosophies in the treatment of crime." Acting upon one theory, the crime itself is punished according to a well established code—so many years in the penitentiary for this crime and so many years for that. On the other hand, there is a growing tendency to individualize punishment, to find out what is fitted to a given criminal in order to deter him from further crimes and if possible to re-educate him.—*Jane Addams, December* Graphic Survey, *1929.*

Borrowing From Peter

The only conclusion that can be reached on the basis of four years' experience is that Germany's imports have exceeded her exports by approximately 2,609,000,000 gold marks annually. Germany has thus not only had to borrow all of the sums paid on reparation account, but she has also had to borrow in order to pay for the excess of imports . . . all that has been demonstrated is that up to date Germany has been able to borrow something like two dollars for every one that has been paid.—*Harold G. Moulton,* The Annals of the American Academy, *July, 1929.*

Analyzing Psychoanalysis

We may be said to be living in a psychoanalytic age. For there has been insinuated into our outlook a Freudian temper. The procedure of psychoanalysis invites the analyzee to disclose the truth about himself. Like prohibition, the experiment noble in motive may be equally likely to fail in practice. There is nothing that needs analysis so much as the procedure that goes by that name. . . . How far the Freudian temper has brought order into the human cosmos, how far it has enhanced or clarified, how far distorted or degraded human values, are questions of large moment for future generations.—*Joseph Jastrow,* The Century, *Autumn, 1929.*

Page Senator Smoot!

Not alone this country—the whole world is agog over tariffs. . . . Economists of international repute are calling earnest attention to the seeds of military war that lie in these tariff laws and tariff wars. . . . But there is no apparent or imminent yielding. In the face of tremendous facts of breeding enmities and wars, we seem no more able to lower tariffs than to reduce armaments. It is said by a few eminent cynics that there are no longer any great men in the earth. Are there any great statesmen who can cut themselves loose from tradition and advocate a speedy abolition of all tariffs?—*Editorial.* Financial Chronicle, *September 28, 1929.*

What the Machine Does For Us

At the present time industry is clearly over-valued at the expense of agriculture. These two great activities are fundamentally out of balance. . . . Mechanization has led to cities so congested that it gives little pleasure to live in them, or to contemplate what will happen if the pressure becomes much greater. By and large the subway is an engine for "pumping us back and forth from places where we would rather not live, to places where we would rather not work."—*Stuart Chase,* Technology Review, *November, 1929.*

The Meaning of Individualism

The attitude of Mr. Hoover towards business differs from that of Mr. Coolidge in that he is not merely negative and quiescent. He sees that new things need to be done. He wants to call out the latent possibilities of business for better organization. But it is traditionally Republican in that he relies upon business men to do the necessary job, without any shocks or any stimulus or any bolstering from other interests. This attitude he identifies with the old faith in a legendary "individualism." Individualism has, to him, come to mean the right and the capacity of a comparatively few business executives to direct the economic life of the nation.—The New Republic, *December 11, 1929.*

Hiring Out Prison Labor

The federal prison at Atlanta, Ga., leases out convicts for their labor, but the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People reports that only Negroes are so hired out. There are two things wrong here: There should be no discrimination against Negroes, and the antiquated system of putting prisoners out for labor should be ended. The scheme at Atlanta evidently owes its life to the fact that the prison is in the South. But the Southern states themselves are getting away from this custom. They have been learning that much abuse and actual murder have taken place in these chain gangs, that the most brutal treatment is accorded those who are thus sold into peonage. If the states find the system bad, the Federal Government has no business keeping on with it.—Des Moines Register, *Nov. 20, 1929.*

Tribute to a Humanitarian

Men like Moorfield Storey, who died last fall, are a good deal of a nuisance. This Massachusetts lawyer was forever pestering a practical world with his moral scruples. He was forever bothering us, for instance, with the record of our despoilings of our Indian wards. When the United States was unctuously taking up the white man's burden in the Philippines, Storey was pestering his party with protests against the new American imperialism. When most of us wanted to be restfully forgetful of the Negro and his problem, Moorfield Storey was pushing along his National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. If some fellow was getting the worst of it from the law and was unable to finance his own case through the courts, it would be just like Moorfield Storey to plod uncompensated through to the Supreme Court to see that justice was done. Such men disturb our pleasant complacency. They make trouble and cause pain, like the dentist who tortures us free of an infected tooth.—*N. A. A. C. P.,* News Bulletin, *December, 1929.*

The Speculation Mania

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

ON October 29th, 1929, the bull market came to an end on the New York Stock Exchange. Fifty billion mythical dollars were swept away before the market reached the bottom. Fourteen billion were lost in a single day. This was the inglorious end of the "Coolidge market" which began in 1925 and rose steadily, with but few flurries, through a period of four years. Stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange were worth twenty-four billion dollars in 1926. By January, 1929, they had risen to the value of sixty-seven billion, and in March another four billion had been added. Stocks not listed on the New York exchange brought the total value up to something like one hundred and twenty-five billion.

How unreal these values were may be seen by the fact that between 1925 and 1927 corporate dividends increased only 85 per cent, while speculative profits of income tax payers increased 250 per cent. Another indication of speculative optimism outrunning business progress is the fact that in 1928 there was an increase of only one per cent in retail sales. In 1927 there were actually 417,000 fewer wage earners in the industries of the country than in 1923. For some time the nation had been confronting the phenomenon of stock market prosperity with increasing unemployment. While, in other words, the market for goods was being restricted, prosperity was maintained by increasing sales pressure in moving goods which belong in the field of luxuries. Although there had actually been an increase of 20 per cent in national income between 1923 to 1927, this gain went chiefly to the groups receiving more than five thousand dollars per year. They received six billion of the thirteen and a half billion increase, and had their income enlarged by 59 per cent, while the classes receiving less than five thousand dollars increased their income by only 13 per cent. It is a good guess that most of this 13 per cent went to those whose income was nearer five thousand than one thousand. Prosperity was, in other words, increasingly top heavy. That was not the major explanation of the stock market collapse but it was a contributing cause.

Many industries have in fact not been prosperous. The bull market was created by phenomenal profits in a few leading shares. Even in these shares there were not sufficient profits to justify the prices which prevailed before October 28. These prices were purely speculative, based partly upon the appropriation by the owners of all the wealth which the modern machine is producing (the skilled workers sharing a little and the unskilled workers sharing not at all in the increase of wealth), and partly created by owners and buyers anticipating future profits. If it is true that the number of stock investors increased from 3,000,000 to 15,000,000 in the last five years, this means that a group representing less than one-tenth of the population, infected with the speculative mania, was gambling upon the possibility that new miracles in productive efficiency would transform their speculative values into real values, if stock values which depend merely upon profits may be said to be real values. It has been estimated that 85 to 90 per cent of the buyers of stock were speculators rather than investors. There is, of course, no way of proving this; but it is a safe guess that when a man buys a stock which pays him only 2 or 3 per cent on his investment, he is buying that stock not for the sake of the dividend it yields but because he expects to sell it at an even higher rate. It might be said in passing that when a tenth of a population—and that the dominant tenth—takes an attitude toward industry as these investors did, regarding it as a kind of Christmas tree, we can readily see why it is so difficult to realize any progress with the human claims which society ought to make upon industry. No matter how speculative the price at which a man has bought stock, he immediately regards the stock at that price as his "property" and every claim upon industry for unemployment insurance, old age pensions, or adequate wages becomes a threat against his property.

WHEN it is asked how the general buying public could have been foolish enough to imagine that future profits would make their speculative values real values, the answer offers us some interesting insights into popular psychology and the nature of our present civilization. The general buying public was deceived by its own greed and a conspiracy on the part of the dominant financial interests of the country. Business optimism always tends to overleap bounds of caution and common sense. Every expanding city with tales of real estate profits brings thousands of investors who buy subdivision sites at prices which only a miracle of expansion could justify. If General Motors stock rises 50 per cent, it attracts thousands of buyers who expect it to go up another 50 per cent and who, by their competitive buying, actually send it up to new heights of speculative value. General Motors is really a prosperous company; yet its stocks suffered a loss of one billion, seven hundred million in value in the stock market break. It is safe to say that a billion of this amount represented a purely speculative value which profits could not have justified.

Moreover, if there is any tendency toward caution in a public mad with greed, that is finally destroyed by the constant propaganda of business optimism which the dominant financial interests carry on. Everyone remembers how last summer, when the Federal Reserve bank tried to stop speculation by raising the rediscount rate, it was roundly abused by such men as Durant who accused it of interfering with the energy of American business men and of imperiling the workers' full dinner pail. All through recent years, the slightest break in the market was stopped by reassuring statements from bankers and government officials, usually from Mellon or Coolidge. Bankers who ought to be honest counsellors in matters of finance, and who certainly must have known that market prices were unwarranted, helped to maintain this optimistic psychology. One prominent New York banker turned venomously upon the Federal Reserve board and denounced its members for their cautious efforts to curb the speculative fever. He and his associates were reaping a golden harvest in lending money to speculators at interest rates which reached new high levels, which withdrew credit from building and other enterprises, and even affected the credit situation in Europe.

It is a conservative guess that at least half of the fifty billion dollars in values which were lost during a period of two weeks were purely psychological, having no basis in either present or possible profits in our industries, and created by public hysteria plus a conspiracy in high places. That is a significant illustration of the artificiality of our civilization and the measure of honesty to be found in it. Small men are placed behind prison bars for obtaining money under false pretenses. But the leaders of the nation may by the very same method create fictitious values to the extent of twenty-five billion dollars and still remain honored and envied leaders of our society.

NATURALLY the stock market crash has produced all kinds of reactions, prompted multifarious reflections and innumerable remedies for the abuses in our present financial system. Most of the suggested remedies are mere palliatives, comparable to the suggestions of past decades that the war evil be mitigated by abolishing gas warfare and submarines, or by prohibiting the bombing of hospitals and the shooting of non-combatants. Gradually men have begun to realize that war itself is so wrong that it is foolish and futile to make ethical distinctions as long as the evil itself is permitted. The same logic must ultimately apply to our financial situation. Senator Carter Glass would like to discourage speculation by putting a special tax on stock that is resold in a period of several months. Although such a law might slow up speculation a little, men would probably treat the tax exactly as they have treated high interest rates on loans to speculators. Given high stakes, men will gamble for them with high bids. After all, the length of time a stock is held is only a partial indication of the intent of the buyer. Men might hold a stock for a year and yet have nothing but a speculative interest in its ownership.

The most frequent suggestion for the improvement of conditions in the stock market is that marginal buying be outlawed. Undoubtedly something can be done to discourage marginal buying by discouraging brokers' loans. The lowering of the discount rate by the Federal Reserve banks was a basic factor in the bull market of the past four years. It is conservatively estimated that brokers' loans amounted to ten billion dollars in March, 1929. However, about 40 per cent of this amount was advanced by other than banking agencies. This shows how futile a check upon the banks would be. It would at best only slightly retard the gambling mania. Gambling on margin is, after all, buying stock on the "partial payment plan," to use the euphonious term by which Bishop Cannon tried to justify his fling in Wall street. There is no way of making legal distinctions effective in the field of motive and intent. Most stock purchased on the partial payment plan is obtained with speculative intent. But how can you pass a law against it without unjustified restrictions upon the credit of buyers in general? It is, of course, not impossible to retard marginal buying by various legal restrictions. But most of them will be more or less artificial and will probably prove abortive in the end.

THE fact is that the whole problem of speculation is merely a vivid revelation of the unethical character of our entire civilization It reveals the artificiality of an age which hides human and social factors behind the abstractions of money; it portrays the anti-social character of a profit-mad civilization which looks upon industry purely from the perspective of human greed. Here is a civilization in which millions of workers are at work producing goods for each other. If society were intelligent, it would organize this vast mutual service so that everyone would get the greatest possible benefit from his work, consistent with the needs of the whole. What happens is that the realities, the social needs of workers, the demands of society and the consumer, and the human relations are subordinated to the fiction of money and stock certificates. The industrial plant is divided among many owners whose ownership is attested by a certificate. No sense of obligation toward the men who work in a factory is imparted by a perusal of the certificate of stock. It becomes property though it is really only an abstraction for property. It becomes with money another means of exchange; but it has the advantage or disadvantage over money that its value is changeable. Its value d

pends upon the productivity of the industry. If profits are high, they get themselves transmuted into immediate principal by the rise in the value of the certificate which entitles the holder to draw upon the productivity of the industry.

Suppose someone buys a stock at one hundred dollars; new machinery and greater speed of production make it possible for the management to pay 12 per cent interest on the stock instead of 6 or 7 per cent. Immediately the stock begins to rise. Perhaps it reaches two hundred dollars or even three hundred dollars. The person who buys it at that high figure has what he imagines to be "property" to the value of three hundred dollars. If the workers in industry should be wise enough to organize, should demand higher wages, adequate unemployment insurance (to protect them against the perils of the automatic machine and its tendency to create unemployment) as well as old-age pensions, and if such demands reduced the dividend rate upon the stock so that it fell from three hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars, the result would immediately be interpreted by the holders of stock as a "threat against property." People who spend their summers in Maine and their winters in Florida would wax eloquent about the unreasonableness of the working population and regard the threat against their "rights" with an air of injured innocence. If, however, there should be a general panic in the market, sending down the price of stocks without any previous change in wages of the workers, there would be much less feeling among those who lost on that score. The difference would be that as stockholders congregate in their clubs and homes they would work out an ethic of sportsmanship applying to such losses. In direct human contact some kind of ethic always develops. As long as the holding class can find no culprit outside of its own group on whom to fasten the guilt, it will make a virtue of necessity and establish a morale about accepting losses to which everyone disciplined by the prevailing ideas of that class will conform. It is safe to say that if the actions of a government—say a labor government—had been responsible for the loss, there would have been anti-labor violence.

THE fictions of money and of stock ownership were once upon a time less fictitious than they are now. When industry was in the hands of pioneers who created it, ownership had real meaning. Even after other stockholders were brought in as investors, their money represented the fruit of their toil and frugality, and there was some meaning in their ownership. But the more industry passes its pioneer stage and the more it creates capital for expansion through its own productive process, the more senseless becomes the fiction of the ownership of those who happen to have made an initial investment. What we have today is simply a theory of rights and ownership developed in a simple society, where ownership and social function were fairly identical, and transferred to a highly complex society where there is no such identity. What we have, too, is a complete lack of ethical reaction to the injustices the present artificial system creates, because human relations are so indirect that it is possible to deal with abstractions of money and ownership without facing the social situations underlying them.

It always requires a long time for human intelligence to grasp the logic of events. The whitened bones of dead traditions and ideas dot every landscape. Yet unlogical as men are, they do finally grasp the meaning of the life about them. Our present civilization ostensibly bases its order and cohesion upon the idea of the sanctity of property. Yet the same civilization manipulates property so that it has become a mere fiction. The inevitable result of this development must be loss of respect for the idea of property. Our present civilization orders human relationships through abstractions of money and stock certificates. Either it will acquire the social intelligence to understand the human problems and the human needs which hide behind these abstractions, or it will aggravate injustice until justice will be violently avenged.

Our civilization is unethical in its industrial and commercial relationships not alone because its relationships are indirect and therefore increasingly inhuman. Human greed and the lust for power are older than capitalism. But in a very real sense modern industrialism, with its centralization of power, its diffusion of ownership, and its indirect relationships, has created modern capitalism with its profit motive, and has heightened the greed and imperialism of strong men from which society has always suffered. The speculation mania is merely the sympton of a civilization which does not deal ethically or humanely with its complex relationships, which has abstracted all human and social meaning from business relationships until only the economic implication remains, and greed becomes the sole motive to which an appeal can be made. Nothing but a complete reorganization of our common life will save us from the evils which the stock market fever reveals. And nothing but a very persistent and intelligent program of social education will make our society ready for the kind of change that will save us from disaster.

A Request

If any of our subscribers or friends have extra copies of our October, 1929 issue, we shall appreciate it if they will mail them to our office, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City.

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

How Much is the U. S. A. Now Spending?

The British Empire (in 1890) bears for war expenditure an enormous charge; the heaviest borne by any nation in the world. The Empire spends on its defence between fifty and sixty millions sterling (250 and 300 million dollars) in the year.—*Sir Charles W. Dilke,* Problems of Greater Britain, *vol. 2, p. 566.*

That's Different!

Natives may kill one another as much as they like. Europeans may kill natives as much as they like. But let natives, driven to desperation, threaten to kill Europeans, and especially European women and children, and then—then, by God! We have seen it in India; we have seen it in China; we have seen it in Africa.—*G. Lowes Dickinson,* The International Anarchy, *p. 194.*

Are We Doomed to Impotence?

If a plebiscite throughout the world on peace and war were taken, there would be no doubt as to the answer; but wars, we know, are always the work of a minority.—*Herr von Kiderlen-Walchter,* German Foreign Minister in 1912, quoted by Georges Bourdon, The German Enigma, *p. 42.*

An English Historian in 1912

"In the main it is unquestionable that the formation of the German Empire has conduced to the peace of the world . . . if we look at the past, we find that our forefathers dreaded France far more than the wildest alarmists now dread Germany. And their dread was with reason. . . . Germany cannot well be an aggressive Power so long as the Franco-Russian alliance endures."—*J. Holland Rose,* Germany in the Nineteenth Century, *pp. 20-22.*

As a Hindu Sees Us

Considering the barbarism of American crowds, the fancy punishments for petty crimes, the graft in the State and Federal Departments, the law of the rich and the suffering of the poor, the discrimination between Black and White, the open defiance of the laws of the land, it is difficult to believe that in the United States the principle of human rights has had its broadest application or that here political freedom and equality and economic opportunity have made their greatest advance.—*Kanhaya Lal Gauba,* Uncle Sham, *p. 255.*

From Each To Each

Each of the races of mankind has its special merits and has made its own contribution to the progress of the world. The ethical basis of civilization has been supplied by the Asiatic, to whom is due all the chief religions—Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and Confucianism. For the material basis of civilization, iron, the world is probably indebted to the Negro. The scientific and administrative genius of the European race has discovered how the forces and materials of Nature can be made most fully available for the service of man.—*J. W. Gregory,* The Menace of Colour, *p. 240.*

So Say They All

The German Fleet is not built against anyone, and also not against England! But according to our need!—*The Kaiser in 1908,* quoted by Fay, The Origins of the World War, *vol. 1, p. 239.*

The Nordics

The wars of the past two thousand years in Europe have been almost exclusively wars between the various nations of this race or between rulers of Nordic blood.—*Madison Grant,* The Passing of the Great Race, *p. 230 (4th edition).*

Peace Via Military Training

I believe, paradoxical as it may sound, that the surest road to universal peace is the adoption of universal military training, and that the adoption of universal military training by all nations may eventually pave the way for universal disarmament.—*Field-Marshal Lord Roberts in 1909,* Collected Speeches, *p. 213.*

An English Version

Consider what the Anglo-Saxon race would be today if, while at least half the American colonies were still loyal, we had only sent enough troops at once to nip the early weak, half-hearted, almost unwilling insurrection in the bud, and had followed that up by conciliation and representation in Parliament.—*Major Stewart L. Murray,* The Future Peace of the Anglo-Saxons, *p. 28.*

A U.S. General on Navalism

Command of the sea is not defensively essential to us as it is to Great Britain. Loss of sea command would mean speedy starvation to the British Isles and rupture to the British Empire. To us it would be a more or less serious inconvenience. For that reason a supreme American Navy would be a menace to World Peace. As it is obviously not essential to our continental defense, it would necessarily be considered a provocative armament.—*General J. M. Palmer,* Statesmanship or War, *pp. 106, 107.*

Jews and Social Justice

It is the tragic record of humankind that many of those who find comfort in the existing order often fail to apply themselves seriously to the ills that plague society. It is part of the great social message of the prophets of our faith that salvation can be achieved only through the salvation of society as a whole. It is therefore incumbent upon all men to study the ills of the existing social order and to form intelligent opinions on the subject of social reconstruction. Instead of questioning God's goodness because of the evils in individual and communal life, we should address our God-given intelligence to the extermination of those circumstances which allow slums, vice, feeble-mindedness, poverty, degeneracy and the like to continue, with only palliative efforts for their improvement. We call this situation to the attention of all elements in industry, employers, employees and investors.—*Revised Union Prayer Book of The Liberal Jewish Congregations of America.*

Zionism Clashes with Islam

KIRBY PAGE

THE riots and massacres in Palestine during the past summer, the Jerusalem outbreak in 1920, and the Jaffa disturbances in 1921 were merely incidents in the relentless conflict steadily being waged between Jews and Arabs in that land. Actual violence has broken out only a few times, but bitter enmity and hostile rivalry are continuous. The stake in this struggle is political and economic supremacy in the Holy Land. If present attitudes and policies are to be maintained on both sides, periodic outbreaks of violence will certainly occur during the coming decade.

This conviction is based upon recent observations and experiences in Palestine and neighboring countries. In Jerusalem we had important interviews with both Jewish and Moslem leaders, as well as with British and American residents. Among the outstanding Jews were Attorney General Bentwich; Harry Sacher, a member of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization and Director of Labor and Colonization Departments; and A. M. Hyamson, Director of Immigration. We also had an extended conference with Haj Ameen El-Husseini, Grand Mufti and President of the Supreme Moslem Council of Palestine; Mousa Kazem Pasha, President of the Arab Executive; and Wadie Bustani, a distinguished Christian Arab. In the neighboring country of Iraq we secured an audience with His Majesty King Faisal, and then had a two-hour conference with a group of leading officials and educators, including the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Communications, the Minister of the Interior, the Superintendent of Education, and the King's Secretary. In this way we were able to discover the attitude of other Arabs toward the situation in Palestine.

The problem appears almost insoluble because both sides can present such good cases. It is easy to be convinced as to the justice of either position if it is considered alone, but the reconciliation of the conflicting interests and desires is extremely difficult. Personally, I have long been an ardent sympathizer with the Zionist aspirations. After centuries of terrible persecution and cruel discrimination in many lands, it is natural that the Jews should long passionately for the recovery of their ancient homeland, which they say was promised to Abraham by Jehovah and which they have never ruled since the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in A.D. 70. In the words of the Joint Palestine Survey Commission: "Palestine became for the Jews more than a mere country; it became a symbol of regeneration, of a return to the days of its youthful vigor, to health bodily and spiritual." On November 2, 1917, Lord Balfour, as British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, issued the following declaration:

> His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

This proclamation was subsequently reaffirmed by the Supreme Council of the Allies at San Remo in 1920. It was later embodied almost word for word in the instructions issued by the League of Nations to Great Britain as Mandatory for Palestine. All political parties in England are on record as favoring the Balfour Declaration. In 1927 a group of distinguished British statesmen, including J. Ramsay MacDonald and Lloyd George, signed an open letter in which they expressed the desire "that the hopes and ambitions for the establishment of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine may be realized." The Palestine Mandate Society has been formed, with Viscount Cecil as President, for the purpose of helping "to give effect to the co-partnership created between the British Empire and the Zionist Organization in accordance with the terms of the Mandate for Palestine." Consequently, the Jews could hardly desire to be more securely buttressed with promises of a national home than they are at the present moment.

THE Arabs, on the other hand, are passionately convinced that they are the victims of gross injustice and that their future is gravely menaced. They point out that their ancestors have been in possession of Palestine for many centuries, that most of the soil remains in their hands, and that they still constitute four-fifths of the population. The idea of transforming their territory into a national home for an alien people from Europe and America is regarded by them with extreme repugnance. The Grand Mufti remarked to us that if the Jews are justified in claiming a land which they lost more than eighteen hundred years ago and which they originally obtained by conquest, the Arabs would have a right to demand the return of Spain to their control since they had much more recently occupied that country. Moreover, the Arabs also are descendants of Abraham, through the line of Ishmael, and feel entitled to share equally with their Jewish cousins any rewards arising out of promises made to their common ancestor.

The Arabs complain bitterly that the promises of independence made in order to secure their entrance into the World War on the side of the Allies have not been kept, and that they have been betrayed. Promises made in wartime are likely to be vague in meaning. The Balfour Declaration itself is capable of several different interpretations, and British authorities deny the authenticity of certain pledges which the Arab leaders say were made. Doubtless the pledges given were capable of varying interpretations. Certainly most Arabs thought that they had been promised independence and freedom to form a great Arab nation in the event of an Allied victory. The Grand Mufti stated this opinion emphatically and said that Palestine was included in the territories promised independence. This same idea was expressed by King Faisal during our interview with him. The group of officials and educators with whom we had a conference in Bagdad were united in the belief that during the war the whole Arab world had been pledged independence. Certain relevant documents from the King's personal library were placed at our disposal. In a paper entitled, "Note on the Arab Question to His Britannic Majesty's Government," submitted by King Faisal himself, we read:

> The Arabs took up arms against the Turks on certain promises my father (King Hussein) made them; those promises were based on pledges given him by Great Britain. . . . The Arab movement was in existence long before the war; the Arabs have always held before themselves the ideal of re-establishing their independence and renewing the glories of the Arab Kingdom and Caliphate of past generations. Those pledges, given to my father by the British Government, are plain and unequivocal. . . . In a letter dated July 14th, 1915, my father requested that "England should acknowledge the independence of the Arab countries, bounded on the north by Marsina and Adana, up to the 37th degree of latitude on which falls Berejik, Urfa and Mardin, up to the boundaries of Persia, on the east by the frontiers of Persia up to the Persian Gulf, on the south by the Indian Ocean with the exception of Aden, and on the west by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean up to Marsina. . . ." In regard to those portions of the territories therein in which Great Britain was free to act without detriment to her ally, France, obviously making an exception of the Syrian littoral only, Sir Henry MacMahon (on October 24th, 1915) added: "I am empowered in the name of the Government of Great Britain to give the following assurance: Great Britain is prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs within the territories included in the limits and boundaries proposed by the Sherif (King Hussein). Regarding the vilayets of Baghdad and Basra the Arabs will recognize that the established positions and interests of Great Britain necessitate special measures of administration and control in order to secure their territories from foreign aggression. . . ." The British Government through Earl Curzon, Foreign Secretary, repeated this pledge in a letter addressed to me on October 9, 1919. Mr. Lloyd George on September 19, 1919, at a conference in Downing Street, at which I was present said: "The Arab forces had redeemed the pledges given to Great Britain, and we should redeem our pledges."

Another typewritten document, 58 pages in length, is entitled, "Aide Memoire in Regard to Syria and Faisal King of Syria." In it are recorded numerous utterances by Allied statesmen concerning self-determination and the protection of the rights of small nations, together with pledges promising deliverance to regions long ruled by Turkey. This document also quotes the proclamation issued in the name of the Allies by General Maude on March 19, 1917, in Baghdad, promising freedom to the Arabs. Reference is likewise made to a similar proclamation issued by General Allenby in Jerusalem on December 2, 1917. In a "Memorandum submitted to the Conference of the Allied Powers at the House of Commons, on March 10th, 1921," by the agent of Amir Faisal (later King Faisal) we read:

> My father (King Hussein) considered that in view of the pledges given to him, the essential unity and independence of the Arab-speaking provinces of the Turkish Empire were secure in the event of the success of the Allies; accordingly he threw himself into the struggle and called on his fellow Arabs to join his standard.

The Arabs are afraid of the Jews. This fear is not personal, for they are among the bravest of peoples, but corporate. As a group, the Arabs are severely handicapped. The Jews are shrewder business men; they are backed by the wealth of Zionism throughout the world; they occupy a privileged position in the government of the country; they are supported by the British Government; their more extreme elements are aggressive and provocative.

THE economic advantages possessed by the Jews are formidable, in spite of some serious disqualifications, notably the lack of experience in agriculture on the part of many colonists. The Arabs are not as a rule skilled in commerce and finance, realms in which the Jews lead the world. Therefore the former are likely to get the worst of the bargain in any deals between the two groups. This discrepancy in ability is accentuated by heavy subsidies to Jewish settlers from Zionist funds. During the past ten years a sum of not less than 50 million dollars has been contributed by the Jews of the world in support of the Palestine program. The budget of the Zionist Organization is now approximately five million dollars annually. The Joint Palestine Survey Commission found that the cost of settling a family on the land varied from 5,000 to 7,000 dollars as compared with the average of 600 dollars, exclusive of the grant of land, required to establish a Greek refugee family. The total Jewish immigration into Palestine from 1919 to March, 1929, was 99,757 and the Jewish emigration was 24,109, leaving a net gain in the Jewish population of 75,648. Many an Arab has been unable to refuse a tempting offer for his land. In numerous cases the money thus obtained was soon

wasted and the owner deeply regretted the sale of his property. In this way enmity toward the Jews has been engendered.

Apart from the substantial contributions from abroad, most of the Jewish settlers would be unable to subsist on the proceeds of their labor. There is every reason to anticipate the continuance of these subsidies. Indeed the recently enlarged Jewish Agency, which includes powerful non-Zionist elements, will probably operate on an extended scale. Not one of the colonies has as yet reached the point of actual self-support. Concerning this point Sir John Campbell, former Vice-Chairman of the Greek refugee Settlement Commission, and one of the experts selected by the Joint Palestine Survey Commission, wrote:

> The broad fact which emerges is that no single colony is at present on sound economic ground, irrespective of the date of its establishment. No repayments have been made; in general, none but the most trifling repayments could in any case have been made, to judge by the balance sheets. . . . From the time the work in Palestine commenced, the finances of the organization have never been on a sound footing. There has been continuous and heavy overexpenditure, relative to income.

Another important advantage possessed by the Jews is found in the privileged position they occupy in the government of Palestine. The Arabs have uttered vigorous protests because they are taxed without representation, while the Attorney General, who drafts the laws and exercises considerable political influence, is a Jew and an ardent Zionist. The number of senior governmental positions held by Jews is greatly in excess of their ratio of the population. In spite of the heavy Jewish immigration since the war, the Jews still constitute only about eighteen per cent of the total population. The Joint Palestine Survey Commission has estimated that of the cultivable land of Palestine, "approximately eight per cent is now in Jewish hands." Nevertheless, the small Jewish minority exercises far greater political power than does the Arab majority. The first High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, was a Jew and an enthusiastic Zionist. Concerning the situation, Leo Wolman, one of the survey experts, wrote: "Occupying a position almost coördinate with the mandate government, a sort of government within a government, is the Zionist Executive, the local representative of the World Zionist Organization." Sir John Campbell expresses the opinion that "the primary defect" of the Zionist administration is that its efforts have "hitherto been mainly political." The latest *Report of the Executive of the Zionist Organization* opens with a long section devoted to a "Political Report." The Arabs have consistently rejected all invitations to participate in the government in an advisory relationship. Sir Herbert Samuel sought to establish an Advisory Council, with four Moslems out of twenty members. An effort was later made to create a Legislative Council with eight Moslems out of twenty-three members.

There is no doubt that some of the Jews have been highly provocative. In their enthusiasm over being able to return to the Holy Land, they have sometimes made extravagant statements. Arabs frequently quote the remark attributed to Dr. Weizmann, President of the Zionist Organization, that it is proposed to make Palestine as Jewish as England is English. The Grand Mufti showed us an incendiary poster issued as a souvenir by a Jewish organization in Jerusalem. Around the borders are pictures of a dozen holy places now in Moslem hands; in the center is the Mosque of Omar; above are the seven-branched candlestick and the ten commandments, while over all is the Jewish crown. This poster is interpreted by the Arabs to mean that the Jews intend to seize control of all these holy places at the earliest opportunity. Another leaflet showed a vast throng surging toward the temple area, with a Jewish flag flying over the Mosque of Omar. The August riots were preceded by an extremely unwise Jewish demonstration at the Wailing Wall, where fiery speeches were made, the anthem "Hatikvah" was sung and the Zionist flag unfurled. Two organized groups of Jews are especially provocative: the Revisionists, who are sometimes referred to as Fascists, and the political communists who always fish in troubled waters. While these groups are small in number, they are strong in lung power.

THE whole situation is enormously complicated by reason of the fact that the Arabs are not only apprehensive concerning the steady encroachments of the Jews, but they are an exceedingly proud and sensitive people, easily aroused, fanatical in spirit and warlike in temper. So far as overt violence is concerned, they were certainly the aggressors in the August riots and were guilty of revolting atrocities. It would not be true, however, to say that they alone committed barbarous outrages. Many Arabs were also murdered. A British Tommy told me that he saw a Jew shoot an Arab in the back. A group of Jews on a train grabbed a sleeping Arab and tossed him out of the window.

Furthermore, Jerusalem has long been a hot-bed of enmity and conflict between races, nationalities, and religions. Even the Christians are arrayed in hostile camps. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Nativity have often been the scene of violent combats among the various Christian communions. Formerly it was necessary to post Turkish guards in these sacred edifices to prevent Christian from assaulting Christian. A police officer is still stationed in the Church of the Nativity to preserve the peace.

In such an environment any religious or racial controversy may lead to violence. And as far as the Jewish-Arab quarrel is concerned, its repercussions extend far beyond the boundaries of Palestine. While the Arabs are highly individualistic in action, they possess a strong racial and religious consciousness. The whole Arab world is seething with resentment against the great powers, and periodic revolts have broken out across a wide front since the World War. In Damascus we saw the ruins of numerous buildings which were demolished by the French bombardment and air raids in crushing a serious rebellion during 1925. The French and the Spanish with extreme difficulty suppressed the revolts among the Riffs. In Baghdad we were greatly disturbed by the bitterness manifested by leading Iraqi against the British. At the time of the riots in Palestine last summer, the Progressive Party of Iraq, under the presidency of the present premier, cabled protests against Zionism and the Balfour Declaration to the League of Nations, the British Government, and the High Commissioner of Iraq. A substantial sum of money was contributed in Baghdad for the relief of their co-religionists across the border. While in Baghdad we heard of a special emissary who is going about the Moslem world creating sympathy and support for the Arabs of Palestine.

THUS we see that the deadlock is complete and the whole situation highly dangerous. The Jews themselves have most to lose by the prolongation of the present crisis. Not only is there peril to life and property, but the existing economic boycott is ruining trade. Under all the circumstances, what can be done to improve conditions? One Jewish leader expressed the strong conviction that the Balfour Declaration constitutes the root difficulty. But certainly we have no reason to anticipate its repudiation. The British Government and the League of Nations are too completely committed to turn back at this late hour. Fortunately, however, the Balfour Declaration is exceedingly vague in terminology and is susceptible of various interpretations. Thus far primary emphasis has been placed upon the first section, namely, the establishment of a national home in Palestine for the Jewish people. It would be possible, however, to stress the last clause, that is, the safeguarding of the rights and interests of non-Jews. Without violating the Balfour Declaration, it would be possible to provide a home in Palestine for Jews, without seeking to transform the country into a Jewish state. That is to say, it would be possible to guarantee the same rights to the Jews as are granted to other races, but not to accord them a privileged status as is now the case. In that event, the Jews would be given only the degree of political power to which they are entitled by virtue of their ratio of the total population. Since the vast majority of the people are Arabs, they would be granted commensurate political power. The British Government as Mandatory would administer the government impartially for Moslems, Christians, and Jews alike.

The real difficulty, therefore, does not arise out of the Balfour Declaration as such, but emerges from the present interpretation of that document. Decades of hostility and violence will surely result from the continued effort to transform Palestine into a Jewish state. The only way out is to safeguard the rights and interests of the Jewish minority and at the same time abandon utterly the effort to place it in a privileged political position. Palestine is an Arab country and must eventually be ruled by Arabs. That the two groups can live together in peace has been proved in many lands. At the present time 60,000 Jews in Baghdad dwell amicably with the much larger Arab population. Indeed, the Arabs of Palestine are now receiving substantial benefits from the activities of the Jews and from the heavy foreign contributions. In industry, agriculture, sanitation and education the Jews are making valuable improvements for the whole country. If the existing enmities could be removed the two groups would be mutually helpful to each other.

Ten years ago, on September 16, 1919, a correspondent of the London *Times* offered the following words of wisdom:

> Let the Zionists make known the moderation of their demands from the housetops. . . . The Moslems, who have it to their eternal credit that, while Christendom acted very differently, they have always shown toleration to the Jews, are in danger of spoiling their record, because now for the first time they believe they are threatened with a Jewish domination.

The way to break the present deadlock was indicated by a Zionist with whom we talked. He expressed the opinion that his people had made a fatal blunder by placing undue emphasis upon politics and by assuming an aggressive and vociferous policy, whereas it would have been the part of wisdom to make an economic success of their agricultural colonies and to create in Palestine a cultural and spiritual home for the Jews of all the world. Any other procedure will produce fatal consequences. To have Palestine dominated by an alien minority is not only gross injustice, but is extremely perilous for the Jews themselves.

Man has no right to kill his brother; it is no excuse that he does so in uniform. He only adds the infamy of servitude to the crime of murder.—Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Declaration of Rights.*

Galahad of Freedom

THE STORY OF ROGER BALDWIN*

A YOUNG man sat on the edge of a cot in a cell in Tombs prison, New York City, busily writing away by the light of a drab dawn.

He was Roger N. Baldwin and he was working on the speech he was to make that day (it was October 30th, 1918) before being sentenced by Judge Mayer in the Federal Court for violation of the Selective Service Act. Against the war which was then drawing to a close Baldwin had stood four-square, refusing to take his physical examination when he was called up for the draft.

"I ask the Court for no favor. I could do no other than what I have done, whatever the court's decree. I have no bitterness or hate in my heart for any man. Whatever the penalty I shall endure it, firm in the faith that whatever befalls me, the principles in which I believe will bring forth out of this misery and chaos, a world of brotherhood, harmony and freedom for each to live the truth as he sees it.

"I hope your Honor will not think that I have taken this occasion to make a speech for the sake of making a speech. I have read you what I have written in order that the future record for myself and for my friends may be perfectly clear, and in order to clear up some of the matters to which the District Attorney called your attention. I know that it is pretty nigh hopeless in times of war and hysteria to get across to any substantial body of people, the view of an out and out heretic like myself. I know that as far as my principles are concerned, they seem to be utterly impractical—mere moon-shine. They are not the views that work in the world today. I fully realize that. But I fully believe that they are the views which are going to guide in the future.

"Having arrived at the state of mind in which those views mean the dearest things in life to me, I cannot consistently, with self-respect, do other than I have, namely, to deliberately violate an act which seems to me to be a denial of everything which ideally and in practice I hold sacred."

Such was the conclusion of his memorable speech. The judge looked at the straight young figure before him and remarked, "It may often be that a man or a woman has greater foresight than the masses of the people. And it may be that in the history of things, he who seems to be wrong today, may be right tomorrow. But with these possible idealistic and academic speculations a court has nothing to do." Whereupon he sentenced Baldwin to a year in jail.

Federal marshals took him through the streets to a Newark penitentiary while the people of that city were celebrating Armistice Day with much confetti and blowing of horns. "The war was over for them," says Baldwin with a grin, "but it was just beginning for me."

As a matter of fact the closing of that jail door was the logical end of a long spiritual journey that began for Baldwin when he came to New York as this country entered the War. From then on he had given all his time, without other compensation than his expenses, for the preservation of civil liberties. Whereas before he had been interested in municipal reform and social welfare work, now he was an out-and-out pacifist and a philosophical anarchist. And being Roger Baldwin, he took no pains to hide his views from the world. As Director of the National Civil Liberties Bureau he and his comrades kept alive those faint sparks of freedom for the individual which were not stamped out by panic-stricken men. For, as is always the case, liberty was the first of

From an etching by Bernard Sanders.

ROGER N. BALDWIN.

* One of a series of biographical sketches of pathfinders to a new society, published anonymously to permit greater frankness in treatment. Reproduction limited to 300 words.

the war's great casualties; and rare and courageous indeed were her handful of defenders. So very naturally Baldwin was hated and spied upon by that great army which skulked behind the lines and did all in their power to make life miserable for the heretics.

One day during his absence the office of the Civil Liberties Bureau, which was an offshoot of the American Union Against Militarism, was entered by that notorious Red-baiter, Archibald Stevenson; desks and files were rifled and a great mass of the Bureau's correspondence removed. One of Baldwin's friends who happened to drop in to solicit his aid for a pacifist office which had also just been raided without a warrant or any semblance of legality, found a cordon of police stretched along the corridor and so many bluecoats about the lower floors that the scene looked like nothing so much as a police department field day. Undeterred, the visitor stuck his nose inside the suspect quarters. There, surrounded by a group of zealous plainclothes agents, was Baldwin, busily pulling open drawers and doing his best to make everything convenient for the searchers after something terrible (which, of course, was never found). Catching sight of a familiar if bewildered face, Roger looked up cheerfully and called out, unperturbed, "Hello ———, come on in. I'm being raided!" One of the raiders, incidentally, was a college classmate, and after the raid the two went out to lunch together to talk over old (and new) times.

As soon as Baldwin received notice that he would be called for the last draft, he made up his mind as to his stand. Resigning his directorship of the Bureau in order not to interfere with the work of that organization because of his personal views, he went down to the Tombs to take his medicine.

BALDWIN is blessed with a happy temperament. He can see humor in situations that would make the average man develop a full-sized martyr complex. And when he talks about his prison experiences today, it is with a reminiscent smile.

While he was awaiting sentence in the Tombs, he was allowed to go out in the company of Federal men and walk along Park Row. The agents were friendly. They admired the sheer guts of the man and had a sneaking fondness for drawing him out along his rebel lines. But there came a strange agent one day bearing handcuffs and a brief authority. He was a stickler for rules and insisted that when taken out the prisoner be handcuffed. Baldwin suggested mildly that he knew lots of folks along Park Row and Nassau Street who might be a bit shocked to see him lugged along manacled to a keeper. But the man was obdurate. Also he was a little fellow, scarcely coming up to Roger's shoulder. So Baldwin said, "All right, come along with the handcuffs." And no sooner had they arrived on the street than Roger fell into his usual swinging stride, literally dragging the guard off his feet, so that passers-by took it for granted the good-looking fellow was taking a desperado to jail.

As soon as he found his way about the Newark penitentiary, Baldwin's organizing instincts came to the fore. Before many months he had made friends with his fellow-convicts and had organized a welfare body among the prisoners. He is a cracker-jack cook, as those who have visited his New Jersey camp will testify, and he soon made himself very much at home in the penitentiary's kitchen. The Warden there was a Sinn Feiner, who had an undying hatred for England, and no particular love for a war which involved us in a British alliance. He and Baldwin soon got chummy.

Men who were in jail with Baldwin have a way, nowadays, of dropping in on him to talk over the old days. Such a one, an expert pickpocket, arrived one day in Roger's office disgustedly twirling an obviously brass watch by a chain. He solemnly informed Baldwin that "a feller oughta be arrested for carrying around a phony ticker like this." He had extracted it from the pocket of a fellow passenger on his way over from New Jersey, and it was intended as a gift for Roger!

When the authorities higher up found how thoroughly Baldwin was organizing the convicts, they promptly removed him to the State Penitentiary at Caldwell, New Jersey. As penitentiaries go, this is not such a bad place, and Roger worked contentedly enough on the prison farm. He has a real love for soil and is happiest, it would seem, when he is digging down into roots. A number of his friends from New York who went out to see him, came upon him in his overalls beaming and begrimed, and anxious for the latest word as to radical activities in town. Suddenly an expression of dismay came over Roger's face. He shook hands all around, then set off on a dead run for the cell block. Over his shoulder he called out, "I nearly got locked out the other day, and I can't afford to have that happen again."

But let no one think that he received any unusual privileges or favors. He served nine months of his term, with time off for good conduct, asking no exceptional consideration. He served with his head up and the spiritual contentment that a man has when he feels he has done a good job. And in his strong person there was contained that spiritual fire which warmed the hearts of lovers of liberty the country over. Today the American Civil Liberties Union which was, and is still, so largely Roger Baldwin, has

on the respect of multitudes of intelligent men and women. Its members are found in the forefront of every battle for the underdog, and it has many an important legal victory to its credit. But in those days, while its former director was digging in the penitentiary garden, what is now the Civil Liberties Union was but a small band of courageous people who fought the good fight under Baldwin's leadership.

THERE was nothing about the man's early environment and education to indicate the strong left drift which he was later to take. He was born in the fashionable suburb, Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts, in 1884. His father was a manufacturer, inclined to political liberalism and the reading of the works of Robert Ingersoll. The family were Unitarians. Roger went to the public school in the small community, and then to Harvard, where he received his B.A. degree in three years and his M.A. a year later. He was not conspicuous among the few rebel undergraduates, which staid Harvard has a way of sheltering. His interests were drawn to social service work, music, and much hiking and reading. When he left Harvard he had no definite intention of what to do.

After his return from a year abroad with his family, a friend in St. Louis wrote suggesting that there was a job to his liking in that mid-western city. He went out to St. Louis and promptly fell in love with the countryside beyond the smoke-hung city. It was this, he says, as well as greater personal independence in the West, which led him to take the position as head of a large neighborhood house in a congested district. But just one job was not enough to consume all his energy. He took charge of the teaching of sociology at Washington University and, a year after his arrival, he was appointed Chief Probation Officer of the Juvenile Court of St. Louis. From 1908 until 1910, he was also Secretary of the National Probation Association. Thus he was busy with lectures in the University, with investigating cases of neglected or delinquent children, and with the supervision of some 1,500 boys and girls under the Court's care. He had a staunch ally in Judge George Williams, and the two of them soon made probation work in St. Louis a national standard for social service.

At the age of twenty-five he had ten people working under him, and politicians in the Missouri Legislature began to look askance at his activity. Here was a youngster who was raising hob with political traditions and actually doing the work which he was being paid for. One day a bill was introduced into the Legislature to the effect that probation officers must be over twenty-five years of age. Roger grinned when he read the bill. He knew it was generally supposed that he was younger than twenty-five, and that this was an attempt to throw him out. Fortunately he could show a birth certificate that put him just over the age limit, and from then on he made things uncomfortable for grafting politicians and reactionary legislators.

IT was the fiery Emma Goldman who gave Baldwin his introductory lessons in revolutionary radicalism. "When I first heard her speak in St. Louis," he said, "I knew that here was a champion for the things which mattered most to me. The more I saw of poverty and distress—and believe me I saw plenty of it—the more I became convinced that social work alone was not enough. I became at heart a revolutionist, though continuing to work at practical tasks of reform."

In 1910 a group of liberal professional and business men—the progressive element in St. Louis of which the city is justly proud—asked Baldwin to form a City Club and to become Secretary of the Civic League of St. Louis. He had for his backers a board consisting, for the most part, of business men and lawyers who were tired of the crooked politics which had dominated the town, and were anxious for a general housecleaning. Roger went to work immediately. His duties brought him in contact with practically every phase of local and state politics. In the city his group succeeded in getting through a new charter with popular control through the initiative and referendum. Oddly enough, this latter instrument, so largely devised by Baldwin, whose defense of the Negro is one of his outstanding characteristics, was used by the voters at once to put through a measure segregating the Negroes of St. Louis! Later on the Supreme Court decided that segregation was unconstitutional, but the incident did not tend to strengthen Roger's belief in the workings of political democracy.

It was a very busy young man who read the first dispatches from overseas, telling of the marching of troops through Belgium. When he heard that some other young men in Great Britain were refusing to take arms on the grounds of being Conscientious Objectors, he was at once sympathetic. Even then he felt that he, too, could have nothing to do with the blood-letting mess. When it became evident that the United States was going into the war, he wrote to Paul Kellogg, editor of *The Survey*, offering his services to help defend objectors and civil liberties. At once Kellogg and others then in the pacifist camp asked him to come on to New York and take charge of the work of the American Union Against Militarism. There were some noted names on the Union's letterhead, such as Eastman, Pinchot, Lovejoy, and Villard, but there was no one to do the day-in and day-out detailed work of the fight against conscription. Impetuously, Baldwin dropped everything, definitely turned his back on the world of social work, and

threw in his lot with the rebels. His time was now taken up with trips between New York and Washington, with arranging meetings of protest and doing all in his power to stop the business of forcing men to take up arms. The National Civil Liberties Bureau was the answer to the protest of thousands whose rights were being violated by the war-mongers. That was in 1917, and the Executive Committee with many of its original members, still meets every Monday, rain or shine, to consult with Baldwin and Forrest Bailey, his co-director, as to the state of Liberty in this domain.

FOLLOWING his imprisonment, Baldwin did not return immediately to the Bureau. He felt that he had need of first-hand labor contacts, and for a while he went adventuring. He carried a hod; he mixed concrete; at one time he worked nine hours a night in Herculaneum, Missouri, in the heat of a lead smelter for the munificent sum of three dollars. He took out a card in the I. W. W. and at one time belonged to the Cooks and Waiters Union of the A. F. of L. He was active around headquarters in the great steel strike where Foster sat with his hat tilted back directing the struggle. Baldwin is proud of the fact that he could work his way around the country at manual labor. He mixed with a pretty rough bunch, far removed from the cushioned lives of his former friends, and his experiences in the labor world have given him a certain bluntness of speech, which was unknown in the St. Louis days.

His function in life is that of the energetic executive who, unlike most executives in the commercial world, is willing to do a big share of the work himself. Even so, he has not escaped strenuous criticism from friends to the effect that he tends at times to be a bit dominating and hard-boiled. Quick on the trigger, he is sometimes—though not characteristically—impatient with those whose minds must move more slowly. The strangest assortment of people come in and out of his office. No one can keep track of the number of telephone calls that he receives, and at one time it appeared that he was the driving force of practically every committee around New York that was struggling for some measure of freedom. Now he devotes all his time to the work of the Civil Liberties Union, and a small committee very dear to his heart called The International Committee for Political Prisoners. This organization has its difficulties. Foreign governments, even though they be proletarian, have a way of resenting the intrusion of any outside influences which might liberate their political prisoners. As a consequence Baldwin in Fascist Italy and Baldwin in Soviet Russia, through both of which countries he has traveled extensively, is not always a welcome guest.

For a man who is constantly in the public eye Baldwin at heart is strangely indifferent to public affairs. He cares little for meetings and conferences and yet he is constantly going to them. He does it because there are not enough people of his sort to go around, and when you are a Baldwin from Massachusetts, once your conscience is stirred, there is no stopping you.

Those who know him best know that Baldwin's Utopia would be life in his camp alongside the quiet little New Jersey stream where he goes week-ends, with some good reading matter, and a few friends who can leave the world of affairs behind them. He is not at all concerned with things—hates to be cluttered up, and sincerely loves the simple life which so many liberals praise and so few pursue. He loves nature with the poetic passion of an artist, and knows bird life more comprehensively and intimately than many an instructor in ornithology.

He moves easily through the two contrasting lives of our capitalist system, and has devoted friends in both camps. To be sure, he has his enemies and plenty of them. He is an uncomfortable man to have around if you are thinking up some kind of new skull-duggery for the oppressed. For he is as uncompromising when he is aroused as the judge who sentenced him admitted when he said: "I am concerned only with your perfectly definite, frank statements that you decline to take a step which the law provides. I am directing my mind solely to the indictment to which you plead guilty. You are entirely right. There can be no compromise. There can be neither compromise by you as the defendant as you say, because you don't wish to compromise. Nor can there be compromise by the Court, which, for the moment, represents organized society as we understand it in this Republic. He who disobeys the law, knowing that he does so, with the intelligence that you possess, must, as you are, be prepared to take the consequences."

Scandal

SCANDAL creeps,
A snake among snakes;
Seldom a stir
Or a sound it makes.
It crosses a road
With its slithering tail,
And there in the dust
Is its shape and trail.
Scandal crawls
Till it coils to spring
With a forked tongue
And a venomous sting.

HELEN MARING

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Changing Russia

WHAT strange thing is this that has come over the writers on revolutionary Russia? Partisan literature on both sides has been almost the rule, interspersed with the "My two weeks in Russia" volumes. A few outstanding exceptions merely lend emphasis to the general trend of biased and shallow reporting. And along comes a man like Maurice Hindus, born in Russia, commanding the language, conversant with its history and customs, who endeavors to interpret what he has seen and heard in seven years of repeated visits.

Humanity Uprooted—what a pertinent title for this book! And what an apt characterization of Russia. Whether we like it or not, the simple fact remains that hardly anything accepted in the West—by faith (religion) or by demonstration (science)—has stood the empirical test in Russia. Classic economics, born with Ricardo and Mill, have not the slightest application; religion and the church are considered mere superstition; the family has outlived its usefulness; woman has taken her place next to man, legally, economically and socially; youth knows no authority; the state has assumed new and tremendously important functions; the wealthy are non-existent or despised; the proletariat is lord over all. So radical and thorough-going is this change that the very literature of the West, a novel of Dreiser, seems as unreal as a story from the Arabian Nights.

There is only one way to understand this amazing revolution—and understand is all that Hindus invites his readers to do—that is, against its own background, old Russia, and by way of comparison with the West. Take religion and the church. No doubt they have fared badly; youth everywhere in the country is boasting of its atheism. But has the West never pondered the background of all this? The Russian Orthodox Church was the most corrupt religious body in the world, allied with Czarist despotism, given over wholly to externals, leaving the "faithful" to their age-old pagan superstitions. Tolstoi denounced it; Dillon called it "a museum of liturgic antiquities." It was never an integral part of the life of the people. The few Bibles it spread among its devotees were promptly used for cigarette papers when a shortage in this necessity occurred. No church, spiritually alive and socially useful, has succumbed to opposition as did the Russian. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." Contrariwise, has the West never heard that the Protestant evangelical churches are vigorous today in Russia, even adding to their membership? And they have faced the same opposition as did the official church.

Or take the Russian Communist. Nothing like him exists anywhere in the world. Ruthless, cruel, calculating, a man of double moral standards (politically of course), opinionated, but at the same time energetic and utterly unsparing in personal sacrifices, relentless against corruption, highly intelligent, an unbelievable idealist, enjoying life more than any other person in the world. Sometimes he and his dictatorship are compared to Mussolini's black-shirted club rule. Utterly false. Two groups could hardly be more different. The background, the goals, and purposes are as far apart as the poles, though they use the same methods occasionally.

Hindus tempts one to go on endlessly. He strikes so many sympathetic chords in anyone who has seen the new Russia. Travelers in Russia, for example, will recall the astonishment which met their apparent neglect of their baggage. Hindus explains that the old thieving habits have not yet been driven out of the *muzhik*. Or they will remember the exasperating inefficiency encountered in spots. Hindus tells of the desperate efforts to change this old habit. Hardly anything better and more fascinating has been written on the Russian Family, Love, Youth, the Peasant, the Jew, and the Intelligentsia than the several chapters of this book.

Russia, in this twelfth year of the Revolution, is neither a Utopia nor Gehenna. It is a country which has endeavored to wipe clean the slate as to its past and to inscribe on the record of history something wholly new. Last summer on the Volga I had a long conversation with a Russian woman, a Communist, who was extremely active in rebuilding Russia. She had been made prisoner during the civil war and barely escaped execution by a firing squad. "Yes," she said, "you will find many things in Russia that are bad. But remember what we started with. Everything had broken down, and worst of all, half of the people were barbarians, almost savages. Always recall our background and you will learn to understand." That little lesson Hindus has learned—and learned supremely well. (Published by Cape and Smith. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $3.00 postpaid.)

H. C. ENGELBRECHT.

Labor's Man of Destiny

BACK in the middle sixties of the last century a boy was born of obscure peasant stock in a two-room, thatched "but and ben" in Loussiemouth, a fishing village of Scotland. He attended a village school and was enabled to remain at his studies only through the timely aid of a Dominie schoolmaster. At eighteen he journeyed to London, penniless and in search of a job.. A few months ago this same boy came to America as leader of the British Labor government and was accorded what is probably the greatest reception ever given by the American people to a foreign visitor.

H. Hessel Tiltman's book, *J. Ramsay MacDonald—Labor's Man of Destiny,* fills a distinct need, for until its appearance there was no objective story of this most picturesque of world figures. The author has aimed throughout to make it a non-propagandist work, "unblurred, as far as possible, by any personal observations or reflections." It describes young Ramsay's early life, his struggles for a scientific education; his breakdown under the strain;

IMPORTANT BOOKS ON RUSSIA

Among the more significant books which are invaluable for an understanding of the Russian experiment are the following:

Soviet Rule in Russia, by Walter Russell Batsell. Macmillan. 857 pages. $6.00. Nothing like this book has hitherto been available, and more's the pity. It was prepared by first-hand study, under the auspices of the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College. In its tremendous scope it includes the origins of soviet institutions and every conceivable detail of the way in which Soviet Russia is governed. Party membership, people's commissars, the problem of nationalities—all that the reader who desires complete information could wish, as well as the person already well informed but who often finds it hard to lay hands on matters of fact.

The Soviet Union and Peace, with an introduction by Henri Barbusse. International Publishers. 280 pages. $2.25. If anyone thinks the Soviet Government has been laggard in its international pacific obligations, he will be surprised by this carefully documented work. On the basic question of reliance upon armed force, or the concept of violent revolution and the substitution of the proletarian dictatorship for capitalist government, the book is not especially revealing.

The Soviet Union Looks Ahead—the Five-Year Plan for Economic Construction. Horace Liveright. 275 pages. $2.50. Sponsored by the Amtorg Trading Corporation, through which Russian economic relations with the United States are largely carried on, this is a frankly Soviet Government exposition of the great, ambitious program on which so much hangs for the future strength of the Soviet system and which is veritably a race against time.

The New Education in the Soviet Republic, by Albert P. Pinkevitch. John Day Co. 203 pages. $4.00. Professor Pinkevitch is President of the Second State University of Moscow. The present translation of a work originally prepared for the use of teachers within the Soviet Union was carried out under the auspices of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University. It is edited by Professor George S. Counts of that institution, and is undoubtedly the most typical and representative presentation of the new Russian school aims and practices which has up to now been obtainable in the English language. "Even though foreign students of education may not accept our fundamental positions"—which they certainly will not in some respects—"they cannot fail to be interested in the unique character and original quality of our soviet education." This from Dr. Pinkevitch's foreword, which ends, "I trust that this book will serve as a means of promoting a better understanding between the educational workers of the United States and the Soviet Union." Aside from the element of dogma (and in this Russia is far from alone) the showing made by the present discussion of method is brilliant.

Here is a quartette of volumes which, evaluated with some discrimination, not only aid in understanding immediate trends, but will serve as reference works of exceptional value during the next few critical years. D. A.

his first ventures in journalism; his early interest in politics a secretary of a Liberal candidate for Parliament, and his years o vigorous activity in the I.L.P. with Keir Hardie in behalf of Labor party. Then follows an illuminating account of his late years of parliamentary leadership with its many ups and downs culminating in his second call to the Premiership in June, 1929.

Mr. Tiltman is not content merely to describe the events leading up to MacDonald's rise to power. He wants the reader t know what MacDonald thought and taught at every stage of his career, and to this end he gives excerpts from more than 100 o his speeches and articles delivered or written during the last forty years—a collection of unique value. The Premier's literary ability is emphasized, likewise his love of Nature, his wide knowledge not only of politics but of the arts and the sciences, his tenderness as a husband and a father, his loyalty as a friend.

Nowhere does the author attempt to psycho-analyze his subject; nor does he follow the new school of biographers and emphasize the Labor leader's failings. In the last chapter, it is true, he points out MacDonald's tendency at times to aloofness, his dislike of criticism, his occasional impatience at the opinions of others; but, by and large, MacDonald is Mr. Tiltman's hero throughout the volume.

In the early portion of the book, the author seems far more discursive than the facts presented justify, and his constant recurrence to the tragic figure of young MacDonald as a poor boy in London becomes somewhat wearisome. MacDonald would probably be the first to testify that during most of that youthful period, his position did not seem to him especially pathetic. For life was ahead of him as a great adventure. If the author had left more to the reader's imagination, the volume would have been greatly improved. Nor does Mr. Tiltman lay sufficient stress on the manner in which MacDonald's efforts were seconded by the changing conditions of the time, and the organizing ability and self-sacrificing efforts of his comrades in the Labor movement. The book is not a great biography. Nevertheless it gives a more adequate account of the remarkable life and teachings of Britain's foremost commoner than does any previous volume. Its typography, its delightful illustrations, and its careful index add to its value. (Published by Stokes. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $5.00 postpaid.) HARRY W. LAIDLER.

Help Wanted Female

EXCEPT for the stories of O. Henry which abound in them, scant attention has been paid to that familiar species, the shopgirl, numerically so impressive but occupationally so ignominious in these United States. Comes now a volume by Frances R. Donovan, *The Saleslady,* issued as one of the University of Chicago Sociological Series, and a sequel to *The Woman Who Waits,* a study of waitresses in our large cities. The book is important because it is one of the few serious attempts we have to see how the submerged tenth salesgirl lives, and it contains much valuable material. Unfortunately it has two grave weaknesses: the author's predilection for sweeping generalizations based on a single summer's experience in metropolitan stores; and her too, too rosy picture of department store life.

The book may be a fairly authentic study of conditions in New York; applied to smaller cities and towns, its conclusions are valueless. There are undoubtedly thousands of girls and women who work in New York department stores, thoroughly happy and contented, thoroughly satisfied with the benevolent paternalism to

which they are exposed in the form of banquets, dances, clubs, one-hour-a-week school, visiting nurse service, and intelligence tests; but there are thousands more who work in John Doe's Dry Goods Emporium in Podunk, Arizona, who are given no commission on their sales, who work until six or seven o'clock daily, ten on Saturdays, and who never heard of Mr. Doe's giving them a Christmas gift, or supplying them with attractive rest room and library facilities. The book, contrary to the implications of its title, takes no notice of this latter group. And any picture of an occupation which among women ranks with unskilled labor must, to be representative and valid, depict conditions cross-sectionally in the country. Had Mrs. Donovan spent a year instead of a summer as a saleslady, and had she worked in Pittsburgh, Oshkosh, or Walla Walla instead of New York, her conviction that God's in his heaven and all's right with the department store might have been less sure.

Some of the facts which emerge from her study are interesting. College girls do not make good salesladies—too "high hat." (May it not be that they chafe at the monotonous, treadmill existence, preferring a job in which there is at least an occasional opportunity for initiative and imagination?) Race prejudice exists in many stores, and in addition to the familiar discrimination against Negroes and foreigners, we have the curious anomaly of a Jewish department store owner refusing to hire Jewish girls! The chief ambition of every shopgirl is to become a buyer, to which height it is apparently very easy to rise with little or no education and less background. Salesgirls are a thoroughly conventional lot so far as their domestic and private lives are concerned; they are not only satisfied with their daily grind but so enthusiastic that their chief diversion during dull moments is "playing customer."

The book would have gained considerably in force and realism had it been written with at least some attempt at the vernacular. For despite the perspiring efforts of personnel and "sales-school" directors, Mary Smith at the hosiery counter (even in Harolds on Fifth Avenue) still says, "These here are much better, Madam," and "We haven't got nothing at that price." Mrs. Donovan's heroines talk like normal school graduates. Also, one wishes the author had devoted some attention to the economic and industrial implications behind this enormous blind-alley occupation which absorbs thousands of girls each year and holds them at eighteen dollars per week until they are forty or fifty. Why is it possible for a department store magnate, retiring in New Jersey, to distribute a purse of $20,000 among the employees who have been with him for fifteen years or longer, when little eighth-graduates who enter his employ as wrappers are fortunate if they get ten dollars per week? Why are there no pension or bonus systems for department store workers who work harder and earn less than either factory or office girls? (Published by the University of Chicago Press. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $3.00 postpaid.) G. E. M.

Another War Novel

THEY call it the story of a German soldier, but it isn't—it's just the story of a German boy who got caught in the tentacles of war. As a matter of fact there were very few real soldiers in the war on either side; but there were millions of boys whom an insane world dressed in uniforms and tried to crush and mangle into being soldiers. They were told they were soldiers, they believed they were soldiers and they tried to act the part of soldiers; yet it was all a ghastly make-believe, for all the time they were nothing but boys. That, of course, is the tragedy of it. If wars were fought by soldiers alone, there would be nothing to complain about. It is a soldier's duty to kill and be killed; his friends will be proud of him and the enemy will respect him in either case. Suffering and privation will be endured with fortitude, and so on, because he's every inch a man! Bunk! There is no such animal. The few who do attain such a state of callous insensibility have accomplished it at the expense of all that is characteristic of manhood.

The truth of the picture as it stands out in *Schlump* is best attested by the way in which the war worked its devastation in every department of life. I don't suppose the author, whoever he was, consciously tried to produce that impression; but the sequence of events, the characterization of people and scenes all indicate the effect of the war in leading people to abandon any purpose in life, whether good or bad, and live only for the moment.

Such disintegration is what war works upon human beings because they are human. And human beings are not built to be soldiers; you can form them into companies, put them through the most gruelling punishment and humiliating abasement, and they will still think and feel. People will see war in a different light when they come to realize that these boys whom they send into the armies are not going to become soldiers at all, but will still be boys about to be subjected to a dehumanizing process. (Published by Harcourt, Brace & Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $2.50 postpaid.) PAUL JONES.

A Jewish Apologia

IN the statement on the title page of Dr. Simon Bernfeld's *The Foundations of Jewish Ethics* that the book was compiled for "The Union of German Jews"—the leading synagogal organization of Germany—apologetic intent is probably admitted. The aim is unmistakably that of winning from an occidental, twentieth-century public a favorable estimate of writings which are neither occidental nor twentieth-century. Judaism is represented as being, in all of its epochs, vocal of that humanitarianism, democracy and cosmopolitanism which, however remote from the practices of our time and clime, receive in our theorizing a compensatory emphasis. If one were to judge from this volume, not a touch of jingoism, chauvinism, snobbery or fanaticism ever marred the "marmoreal calmness" of the Jewish soul. The several topics treated are: "Morality as a Basic Requirement of Judaism," "Fundamental Views of Morality," "Purity of Soul," "Freedom of the Will," "Reward and Punishment," "Equality of All Human Beings," "The Will to Live," and "Knowledge and Morality." On every one of these points historic Judaism is made to say precisely those things and only those things which the West European of the twentieth century is likely to admire.

A certain uniformity of structure pervades the eight chapters. Each opens with an introduction supplied by some distinguished living Jewish scholar. Then follows a series of Biblical quotations bearing or supposedly bearing on the given topic. These are followed by appropriate quotations from the Palestinian Apocrypha; next come quotations from Hellenistic and Talmudic literature. Citations from the Jewish Prayer Book ordinarily follow at this point. The mediaeval Jewish writers are likewise represented and, after them, contemporary Jewish writers. Each chapter concludes with laudatory expressions from Christian authors. But a reader not knowing the men who provide the introductions would hardly credit them with much capacity for being

unbiased: in every one of the introductions, the Jew is sermonically pictured as a paragon. The Bible passages possess their characteristic vigor, the Talmudic their quaint and genial wisdom, and the Liturgic their lofty earnestness. But equally characteristic is the fading color of the Apocryphal and Hellenistic utterances where already the Jew begins his debilitating "play to the galleries." This trend, growing through the quotations from the mediaeval period, reaches its monstrous proportions in the citations from our own day. Between the dull propagandism of these modern deliverances and the pristine vigor of the ancient, the contrast is indeed striking.

If an Eisenmenger or a Chamberlain hatefully depicts the Jew as *in*human, the book before us delineates him as *un*human. The Jew is here a kind of Sunday-school exemplar with all the unreality and tediousness of such a model. The real Jew far from being devoid of individuality was conspicuous, at times painfully conspicuous, for his individuality. Throughout his long and checkered history all his aims have not been entirely those which today's Rotarian stands up to applaud. Like men of all creeds and all flags, he has had his moments of impatience and militancy, and it is just these moments, reflected in his teachings, that make him colorful and human. A self-respecting Jew might well exclaim with Cromwell, "Paint me as I am."

Yet this book has its value. It can serve as a corrective of errors prevalent not only among non-Jews but also among the Jews themselves. The vulgar Jewish impression that Jewish tradition is interested only in ritual matters and the corresponding Christian impression that Jewish tradition is altogether particularistic should meet here a potent neutralizer.

The translator, Armin H. Koller, has done his work well, although he does slip occasionally by retaining such Germanisms as "after when we have sinned," "acquire for yourself bliss in the eternal life," "the argument that the Reason is capable of controlling covetous desires," and "by whatever phrasing the Holy Writ expresses it." (Published by Macmillan. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $2.50.) ABRAHAM CRONBACH.

Bertrand Russell Reappears

THE announcement of a new book from the pen of Bertrand Russell is always received with much of interest and pleasurable anticipation by thoughtful minds everywhere. But Mr. Russell has published some books and some essays which could not only stand repeated editions, but even, after so long a time, a new dress. This is what has happened to *Mysticism and Logic,* a volume of essays originally written over quite a period of time (extending as far back as 1902) but first appearing in book form in 1917. This collection of essays is now available in a new 1929 edition; aside from a new two-page preface written by the author and dated "August 1929," there is nothing new about the volume. Russell himself says in this new preface: "The two essays on 'A Free Man's Worship' and 'The Study of Mathematics' depend upon a metaphysic which is more Platonic than that which I now believe in. . . . With regard to the remaining essays in this volume, I have no such qualifications to express."

But this is not the point. This volume of essays could well stand a reprint just because many, if not indeed all, of the essays not only have, but deserve to have, a continued and even a repeated reading. Take, for example, the essay entitled "A Free Man's Worship." It is undoubtedly true, as Mr. Russell informs us, that he no longer holds the metaphysics implied in this discussion; but it is also true that Mr. Russell has never written a more beautiful piece of prose than this. Purely from the standpoint of a literary gem it has already made for itself a permanent place in contemporary English literature. Nor are its strength of conviction and power of expression a handicap.

As for the other essays, it merely needs to be stated that nothing Bertrand Russell has written is so clearly and precisely an introduction to his scientific and mathematical philosophy, a field of considerable importance in these days, as the majority of these essays. Therefore, we can only be grateful for the new edition of a worthy collection. (Published by W. W. Norton. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop, postpaid $3.00).

PAUL ARTHUR SCHILPP

Why We Have Denominations

MANY books have been written on the doctrinal sources of division in the Protestant church and some few on the liturgical, but little attention has been paid to those social factors which enter so deeply into all groupings and stratifications of human life. In *The Social Sources of American Denominationalism* Dr. H. Richard Niebuhr writes a chapter in church history that illuminates all its pages. We are well aware, because it is so easily seen on the surface of things, of the division in the churches where color or language causes the cleavage, but we are not so well aware of the social influences in the making of the denominations whose membership is white, Anglo-Saxon, and otherwise of one and the same community. The author has searched historical documents thoroughly, and notations of the references made to authorities fill several pages. The study of the relation of the color line to church division and of the way in which the social stratifications of the world enter into the churches is masterly.

Other social differentiations, more subtle though none the less true, are skillfully traced. The economic line is chief in social cleavage here, and the part it played in the birth of Methodism is typical of many sectarian fissions. Like early Christianity most of the new religious movements were characterized by an appeal to the under-privileged, an emotional content that fitted their uncultured mentality and a creed that substituted assurance through some sort of doctrinal mechanism for the slow and tortuous processes of "salvation by character building." This does not mean any lack of moral conventions, but rather a simple, severe, and highly individualistic moral code fitting the simple personal living of its disciples. The pioneer movement westward over the Cumberlands and across the Mississippi valley has produced many of our modern Protestant sects, and it confirmed the proletarian character of the older Methodist and Baptist denominations. The Cumberland Presbyterians furnish a characteristic example of denominational division on the basis of pioneer individualism and its correlate of provincial democracy. In the Disciples of Christ is found the birth of a new communion, protesting, paradoxically enough, all sectarian division, but building meanwhile one of the straightest of sects on a unity plea.

In the evolution of economic prosperity out of pioneer and wage-earning poverty, the solid Christian virtues of industry, sobriety and economy play a major part. Then as Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists, Disciples and others become a prosperous middle class, they begin to replace with the solid but prosier virtues of culture, those of emotion and the simple appeal of certain elemental Scriptural quotations. The Congregationalists have already become a middle and upper class cultural group, the Northern Baptists and

e Methodists are well on the way, and the city churches of the isciples thread the same course. The Quakers, most thoroughoing of them all in both the primitive emotional mysticism and cial equalitarianism of their early history, are suffering a like ltural transformation. To be a Quaker of the lineage is now most a mark of religious aristocracy.

The author says: "Denominationalism is a compromise made far o lightly, between Christianity and the world. Yet it often gards itself as a Christian achievement and glorifies its martyrs s bearers of the Cross. It represents the accommodation of Chrisanity to the caste-system of human society. It carries over into e organization of the Christian principle of brotherhood the pride d prejudice, the privilege and prestige, as well as the humiliaons and abasements, the injustices and inequalities of that specious der of high and low wherein men find the satisfaction of their aving for vainglory. The division of the churches closely follows e division of men into the castes of national, racial, and economic roups. It draws the color line in the church of God; it fosters e misunderstandings, the self-exaltations, the hatreds of jingotic nationalism by continuing in the body of Christ the spurious fferences of provincial loyalties; it seats the rich and poor apart t the table of the Lord, where the fortunate may enjoy the bounty ey have provided while the others feed upon the crusts their overty affords."

True Christian unity, the author believes, requires a church that ys its foundations beneath all social differentiations of class, race, ngue and culture, and builds a temple to the one God of us all herein we meet in a fellowship of humanity, recognizing in the urch, if nowhere else, that we are children of the one Father. Published by Holt. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, 2.50 postpaid.)

ALVA W. TAYLOR

The Genesis of the Social Gospel

UNDER this title, Professor Chester C. McGown, who holds the chair of New Testament literature in the Pacific School f Religion, has given us a scholarly interpretation of the ministry f Jesus and of his message in the light of its prophetic antedents. He comes to the conclusion that Jesus was neither an pocalyptic nor ascetic but that he was a revolutionary, though e could not be classed as either bolshevist or socialist. He elieves that Jesus opposed the rulers of his people for reasons hich must still force those who have honesty and insight to issociate themselves from the prevailing motives in modern civiization. "Jesus did not contemplate his followers as citizens of democratic commonwealth. Therefore, the duties of a modern hristian cannot be directly inferred from anything he says. But is principles do determine our responsibilities. Recognizing the neffectiveness of the ballot, the insincerity and corruption of polians, the hypocrisy, rapacity, and heartlessness of commercial ife, we will not flee into the wilderness like the Essene, retire within our own righteous group like the Pharisees, dream our ives away like the apocalyptist, but attack evil wherever it appears in church and state. The suffering that will inevitably follow we will bear as uncomplainingly as Jesus did his. The disciple is not above his master."

The author has presented a closely reasoned case for the thesis hat the life of Jesus does present a type of social idealism which s relevant to and needed in our own day. Whether that type of idealism will be created by the inspiration of his ideal more effectively than by living in the contemporary situation and determining our strategy in the light of the needs of the day is an open question. The writer inclines to the position of Professor McGown and believes that there is helpful inspiration and guidance in the life of Jesus. But the burden of proof is upon those of us who believe this. The contemporary facts are against us. There are more men in revolt against the ethical limitations of modern civilization without the authority and inspiration than those who claim this authority. Most modern religion is more conventional than it is ready to admit. Nevertheless, Professor McGown is right in insisting that the life of Jesus is a source of permanent insight, and that we may yet be able to make the inspiration of his life more potent in our own generation. Those who dismiss Jesus as an other-worldly dreamer are effectively answered by the volume. (Published by Knopf. Through The World Tomorrow Book shop, $4.00 postpaid.)

R. N.

WE RECOMMEND

The Strike, by E. T. Hiller. University of Chicago Press. 304 pages. $2.50. The workers' weapon as examined in its relation to human nature and group psychology. It is a brilliant, clear-cut, forceful study, and in its field we have seen nothing better. Not only the strike but the demonstration and allied forms of political protest are dealt with intelligently; and here is one author who sees the pertinent relation between this subject and non-violent social change.

Attila, The Scourge of God, by Marcel Brion. (Translated from the French by Harold Ward.) McBride & Co. 275 pages. $3.50. If nothing else, you will at least learn that the well-known Scourge of God was not quite the unlettered savage of school history texts. Reared in a Roman court as a hostage, he acquired an education which was to supplement his natural shrewdness. Here is an odd subject for biography treated capably, at times even brilliantly.

Wife to Pilate, by Mary Granger. Payson and Clarke. 275 pages. $2.50. The story of Claudia, child-wife of Pontius Pilate, and the influence of "that man from Nazareth" upon her life. The author gives us a new Pilate, not the weak and wavering creature of popular belief but Pontius Pilate, the fighting man, rough but sympathetic, who is driven to order the crucifixion only because of his desire to placate the petty officials of the time.

Youth in a World of Men, by Marietta Johnson. The John Day Co. 305 pages. $2.50. Not the orderly exposition of a penetrating, careful thinker but the easily flowing, rather discursive outpourings of a generous and buoyant spirit. The fresh stimulation of this well-known educational pioneer's telling strokes against home and school training procedures which are destructive of sincerity, joy, and balanced growth in children makes the book well worth reading. Its premise, however, that a freer, friendlier world will be brought about merely by dropping the bars to wholesome personal development, is a bit naive. To promote understanding, there is need for a specific, comprehensive program, which this author seems to have overlooked. Thus with reservations we commend this fruit of a humanely working intuition which has broken into flashes of sure insight.

Hindu Fables, by Dhan Gopal Mukerji. E. P. Dutton and Co. 113 pages. $2.50. Delightful and authentic stories for children in families of WORLD TOMORROW readers.

Cement, by Feodor Gladkov. International Publishers. $2.50 . A post-war best seller in Russia and a novel of great directness and vigor, *Cement* takes us into the Russia of the industrial rehabilitation which begins with the suppression of organized counter-revolution and leads into the New Economic Policy. In downright sweat and blood, the book goes over the struggles of the earlier period of the civil wars, and then paints a significant portrait of the "new worker" and the "new woman" in Soviet Russia.

Chicago, A More Intimate View of Urban Politics, by Charles Edward Merriam. Macmillan. 305 pages. $3.50. An interestingly detailed account of what goes on behind the scenes in the political life of the Windy City, written by a one-time candidate for the mayoralty of Chicago. The Harrisons, Deneen, Rosenwald, Insull, Jane Addams, Clarence Darrow, "Big Bill, the Builder," and a host of other luminaries come in for hasty character sketches in an absorbing chapter on Chicago leaders. The first half of the book, historical and theoretical, seems to have been written by Professor Merriam of the Political Science Department of Chicago University, while the remainder of the book is by Alderman Merriam, practical and open-eyed member of the City Council.

Wholesome Parenthood, by Ernest R. and Gladys H. Groves. Houghton Mifflin Co. 305 pages. $2.00. The findings of science and the wisdom of two generous and discriminating students of domestic relationships wrought into an illuminating guide for any parent. Light is thrown on the effects of the words we speak, the attitudes we assume, and the practices we follow in dealing with children, with respect to habit formation, discipline, manifestations of fear and anger, sex practices and sex understanding, and the use of money. The import of inferiority feeling, emotional conflict, day-dreaming, fixations, introversions vs. extraversion, and the changes of adolescence as factors to be recognized intelligently in our contacts with children is thoroughly discussed and illustrated. Specific suggestions for desirable courses of action abound throughout. The book promises to be an influence for happier childhood and for fewer warped and unsocial oncoming adults.

The Rediscovery of Jesus, by Fred Merrifield. Holt. $1.75. If we are ever to arrive at a satisfactory working thesis of Jesus' way of life it is necessary that we rediscover him. He is the great mistreated and misunderstood. In our day we have still to travel far before we arrive at a truly Christian era. It is, however, a healthy sign that "the heavy mists of tradition are slowly rising from the form of the Carpenter-Prophet, leaving in bold relief against the familiar Palestinian background a most entrancing life." Dr. Merrifield has given us a book that will do much to help people see just how entrancing the life of Jesus is. Here is no sad-faced misanthrope, but a radiant and winning lover of men, thoroughly human and virile in the days of his flesh. He was a man, not a God. The man of love. The book is a thoughtful, scholarly, and devout effort which will appeal to laity and clergy with equal force. The Appendix should prove of value to students of the Gospels.

Holiday Pond, by Edith M. Patch. Macmillan Co. 147 pag $2.00. Reliable nature study, so interestingly done as to gorgeous fun. Rana, the frog; Lotor, the raccoon; Picta, t painted turtle; Advena, the pond lily—these and others will fu nish happy instruction and entertainment to children able to re and older.

A Wanderer's Way, by Charles E. Raven. Henry Holt and C 220 pages. $1.75. Autobiographies are always interesti though not always true. When they do bear the marks truth, they are highly valuable. In Canon Raven's *A Wa derer's Way* we have a record of the spiritual pilgrimage of sensitive and honest Christian soul. The revelation of the pro lems of his adolescence are particularly illuminating.

The Poison of Prudery, by Walter M. Gallichan. Stratford Co pany. 229 pages. $2.50. Another attempt to re-emphasize t salient truth that nothing is in itself evil—thinking makes it s Like other moderns the author goes gunning for the ancie and dishonorable taboo against sex. In a readable, thou somewhat journalese style, he differentiates between modesty a prudery and points out how the latter, as revealed by preac ers, teachers, misguided parents, book censors, and reformer is responsible for much tragedy in human life—for warp minds, diseased bodies, wrecked marriages, and other social ma adjustments. Teachers, preachers, *et al* might read with prof

The Battle of Behaviorism, by John B. Watson and William M Dougall. W. W. Norton and Co. 95 pages. $1.00. This litt book is the record of the debate between Professor Watson a Professor McDougall before the Psychological Club at Was ington, D. C. For a brief exposition of behaviorism by its hi priest and an equally brief attack upon the behavioristic ps chology by its most intransigeant opponent, this book is a mirable. A debate is not the best way of arriving at the tru and the ambitious reader who wants to understand mode psychology had better not stop with this work.

The Useful Art of Economics, by George Soule. Macmilla $2.00. Economics is not a dry and "dismal science," too co plex for the average man to understand and having little r lationship to daily affairs, according to the author of this boo but an art by which we may control the life of industry a trade for the general good. It would be well if this bo could be substituted for some of the older economic treatis as a text in elementary economics courses in our colleges.

Rattling the Cup on Chicago Crime, by Edward D. Sulliva Vanguard Press. 214 pages. $2.00. An amazing account of a amazing city where rival gangs brazenly challenge each other open warfare in the city streets while the Mayor announces all the dignity of his great office that if His Majesty, the Kir of England "came anywhere near him, he would hand him a go belt on the snoot." Dion O'Banion, Big Jim Colosimo, John Torrio, Hymie Weiss, "The Dynamo of Hate," and Scarfa Al Capone, now enjoying the safe seclusion of a Philadelph jail, are all personally known to the author, and all take lea ing parts in this racketeering saga of Chicago. Written wi a swift humor that is occasionally reminiscent of Mark Twai Sullivan's book resolves itself into a terrific indictment of pr hibition and all its ramifications.

Ultima Thule, by Henry Handel Richardson. W. W. Norton. 314 pages. $2.50. A remarkably vivid character portrayal of a man of lofty pride and delicate sensibilities, driven by financial worries to find his *Ultima Thule* in the contentment of feeble-mindedness, and of a woman whose magnificent courage gives the book a rare and beautiful nobility. Though the author's sympathy for Dr. Mahony and his wife is manifest throughout, she is none the less uncompromising in pursuing them with a fate inexorable and bitter to the last degree. The stark truthfulness of the book is enough to insure it a place among the classics.

Dynamo, by Eugene O'Neill. Horace Liveright. 159 pages. $2.50. America's leading dramatist undertakes to point out the feebleness of religion, of education, of our whole culture when struck by the impact of materialism. Man is ready to bow down and worship the machine he has invented, but when he does it will destroy him—such is the story. It is a play that reads better than it acts, an important work by an important artist though not so great as some of his earlier efforts.

CORRESPONDENCE

American Banks Please Note

SOME two years ago the Journal of Commerce published a special Russian number. Among the advertisements in that issue was one from the Labor Savings Bank of Moscow, stating that it would pay 9 per cent interest on saving accounts. Through the Public National Bank of New York, Broadway and 25th Street Branch, I forwarded $100.00 to the Moscow bank, paying $1.00 for the service.

Friends and acquaintances told me that Russia does not pay its debts and that I would never see the money. In due time, however, I received a passbook from the Labor Savings Bank, showing my deposit. Despite this, the razzing continued.

Last year one of my friends joined me in the experiment and forwarded $100.00 on my passbook. Some weeks ago we determined to draw out all our savings and prove that our faith in the Soviet Government was fully warranted. Recently we received a check from the Public National Bank for the $200.00 plus the 9 per cent interest, or $224.64 in all.

Brooklyn, N. Y. HARRY JAFFE

Rabbi Wise Objects

DR. FOSDICK'S review of John Haynes Holmes' book on Palestine in your December issue is admirable as far as it goes. But I wish it had gone farther—as in truth it might have gone. Is it quite accurate to call Holmes a Zionist, seeing that the author has set forth the case against Zionism, perhaps more lucidly and completely than has been done by anyone else? Holmes could hardly have given a fuller account of the difficulties which are, in a degree, unconsciously overstated—the overstatement due, no doubt, to the writer's eagerness to avoid the accusation of partisanship for the Zionist cause—the difficulties of the English situation, of the Arab-Jewish problem. I cannot see that the Jews, who are resettling Palestine, unafraid dreamers of noblest dreams, are in danger of succumbing to the temptations of chauvinism and militarism. There is such a thing as a spiritual type of nationalism which need be neither chauvinistic nor militaristic.

To label Mr. Holmes a Zionist, as THE WORLD TOMORROW reviewer does, is unjustified because, only after the fullest weighing of all sides of the case, has Holmes the courage to proclaim himself on the side of the daring Zionist experiment. After the most careful reading and rereading of the book, I am prepared to say that it is far and above the most understanding volume that has yet been written about Palestine. It presents the findings for all sides with care and justness; and, after that, it is a flaming plea to the Jew to be equal to himself in the working out of a task as great as he has ever faced, and to the non-Jewish world to try to be fair to the Jew to whom millenia of reparation are owing, the Jew who finds himself most misunderstood when addressing himself to the most heroic and glorious of tasks.

New York City. STEPHEN S. WISE.

From One Dark Continent to Another

THERE was a time when I became almost hilarious over the Peace Pact. It did seem as if at last the nations had come to their senses and were ready to demand *always* a peaceful settlement of whatever difficulties might arise. Promises had at last been made to which I could point my African friends with some little pride, something that would to a slight extent take away the shame I have felt concerning the World War.

Those of us who had been doubtful as to whether the makers and signers of this Pact meant what they said were exhorted by church and secular journals alike not to be pessimistic as to how it might be interpreted, but to trust and rejoice. I tried to. I even told an African congregation on a Sunday morning about the wonderful promises the great governments had made to each other not to go to war any more. And they all sat there stolidly without a smile of joy, as much as to say, "You'll have to show us."

Our arrival in Africa some years ago occurred just as the Portuguese African troops were returning from fighting the German African troops to the north of us. Were they wondering why the colonizing nations from Europe in the name of civilization had compelled them to stop inter-tribal wars only to give them guns for bows and arrows and then send them to fight each other in wars for their European conquerors—wars which meant nothing to them? It was easy to understand their lack of enthusiasm about the Pact, and their "show me" attitude.

That was before we read the Senate debate on the subject of ratification as it appeared in *The Christian Century*. Hilarity disappeared. If Borah's position as shown in that debate represents the best that the United States government can produce in the line of mutual international trust and promises of peaceful settlement, then it seems to me we have little behind the promise to be thankful for, so far as the government is concerned.

When so plain a promise is misinterpreted deliberately and shamelessly to mean that any nation can still arrogate to itself the right to decide when it is justified in going to war in its own self-interest and call it self-defense, then aggression and self-defense, justice and injustice, promise and no promise all become a helpless jumble and hopeful people have again been misled. Fortunately we can still be sure that there is a great body of public opinion in America which is so far in advance of this Senate position as to make the latter seem childish.

Recently a Washington weekly in attempting to quote the Pact used the phrase—seriously, I presume—"specific means" in place of "pacific." This amused me until I recalled that "specific means" heretofore have always been delivered in steel jackets and han-

dled by uniformed men. And the bill for a lot of new navy *specifics* was then about to be passed. Had the weekly misquoted after all? Perhaps inadvertently it was telling the truth.

The Pact and the navy bill taken together have been ridiculed all around the world. The combination reminds us of the little ditty which was common when I was a boy:

"Mother, may I go out to swim?"
"Yes, my darling daughter.
"Hang your clothes on a hick'ry limb,
"But don't go near the water."

Settlements shall be peaceful providing and providing, etc., there are plenty of steel-clad "specific means" close at hand. Lord, help us! Blessings on the Fellowship of Reconciliation and folk of similar faith who know and practice good-will as a positive and powerful specific. Their tribe is increasing in spite of the army, navy, Senate and hundred percenters.

We must thank the Labor Party in England for some ray of hope in its repudiation of such reservations as would make the Pact of no effect. May the U. S. A.—now that such a government as at present represents England is honest enough and courageous enough to insist that the Pact means exactly what it says—may the people of the U. S. A. put aside the hypocrisy of its Senate and in every possible way assure the rest of the world that the spirit and letter of the Pact will be faithfully observed.

Inhambane, Portuguese East Africa. IRA E. GILLET.

A Tribute

ON December 8th, Dr. William J. Robinson celebrated his sixtieth birthday. It is the sincere wish of his thousands of friends and admirers that he may live many more years to continue the great work he has been so tirelessly engaged in for more than a quarter of a century.

He is today the foremost sexologist in America. In fact, it was he who coined the word "sexology" and advocated that a course in sexual science be instituted in the curriculum of the medical colleges. In fact, without a complete and thorough knowledge of the sexual peculiarities of men and women a proper application of psycho-analysis cannot be made. Dr. Robinson is the author of thirty important volumes that have been the source of much understanding, comfort and happiness to thousands of people. For twenty-eight consecutive years, Dr. Robinson has edited his unique magazine, *The Critic and Guide*. He was the pioneer advocate in this country of modern scientific birth control and his book on the subject not only convinced opponents of the necessity of Birth Control, but did much to advance the day of its adoption.

Dr. Robinson is a man of broad sympathies and his multitude of charities cannot be enumerated. He always suffers with those in pain, but has rarely been able to participate in their joy following their recovery because of so many others who were still suffering. During the late war his passion for peace brought him to the very door of a prison cell.

Rarely does a man like Dr. William J. Robinson pass this way—while he is still here let us not be unmindful of his presence.

New York City. JOSEPH LEWIS.

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Brilliant figure in the peace and labor movements of England and the continent.

Mr. Brockway arrives in America on January 7th as the representative of the War Resisters International, under the auspices of THE WORLD TOMORROW. He will be available for addresses before forums, clubs, peace and labor groups, etc.

He will speak on the following subjects:

WAR RESISTANCE AND LABOR
A NEW WAY WITH CRIMINALS
THE FUTURE OF INDIA
THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE

On Sunday evening, February 2nd, Mr. Brockway will debate with Scott Nearing at Mecca Temple, New York City, on the subject, HAS THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY MORE TO OFFER THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD THAN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOVIET RUSSIA? This will be his only New York appearance. (See advertisement on another page of this issue.)

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with James Ramsay MacDonald, Labor's Man of Destiny, *by H. Hessel Tiltman*	7.00	5.00
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INSTEAD of Christmas cards, which cannot carry your whole thought and affection, we suggest that you send eight-month subscriptions to five or more of your friends. These you may have for $1.00 each and secure *Jesus or Christianity, by Kirby Page,* or *Pacifism in the Modern World, by Devere Allen,* for yourself. These subscriptions will also be appropriately announced.

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The Last Page

"THE number of marines ordered to Haiti was announced officially today by Secretary Stimson to total $500."—Norwalk, Conn., *Hour*. At this rate, considering that United States investments in the island republic total some $36,000,000, the estimate of THE WORLD TOMORROW is that we shall be able to bring peace, democracy and general holiness to the land by the despatch of about 72 such expeditions.

* * *

WHILE we are on the track of Connecticut papers, let us state that for the first and last time in this department's history I am borrowing from *The Literary Digest* and noting that the Bridgeport *Telegram* (which recently burst into tears at the sad fate of poor Mr. Vare) is responsible for the following quite unintentional bit of truth-telling: "This newspaper believes that the D. A. R. is an important and a hard-working body of patriotic citizens, doing work that is valuable and condemnable."

* * *

FROM Dr. E. Leigh Mudge I have received the following decidedly pointed verses, which in my opinion constitute a definite contribution to the five-power naval conference.

THE UNFRIENDLY CRUSOES

E. LEIGH MUDGE

Five men on a small desert island were cast,
Who were true individualists, first to last.
They might have agreed to behave as real brothers,
But each was suspicious of each of the others.
Said One: "Number Two has a threatening stick.
I must fashion another at least twice as thick."
Said Three: "I must find a club stouter than his;
In preparedness is safety; I'm sure that it is."
Said Four: "All the others are gathering sticks.
I shall make a stone axe and lay up a few bricks."
But Five had a thought that was clearly the best:
"I must have enough clubs to exceed all the rest."

Thus the secret of safety and peace, each discovers,
Is to build defence greater than all of the others.
But when Five ascertained that One, Two, and Three
Were gathering clubs, very angry was he;
For his plan, so ideal and simple, went ill
When all of the others refused to stand still.
Then each began wildly amassing a store
Of sticks, stones, and axes—for each must have more
Than all of the others, if he would have peace.
Without such preparedness all safety would cease!
Where *are* these five men? I perhaps should explain:
They are in an asylum for hopeless insane.

* * *

TELL me not what you eat but what mail you get, and I will tell you what you are. It is impossible for a person to remain forever obscure; in the long run a discerning public, especially the advertising public, ferrets him out and discovers all his tastes and characteristics. In the course of a year I deliver, and only rarely C. O. D., an appalling number of what might be termed public addresses. Evidently someone who has heard me represented the publishing interests. In the last week I have received three invitations to purchase works on the art of making speeches, the last one commenting bluntly, clearly out of first-hand knowledge, "Unaccustomed as you are to public speaking, you need So-and-So's Manual." Well, I'm not the first zealot who h tried to bore from within and ended up by boring from in front.

* * *

YOU may have heard this one by now, but it is not so ve stale and probably travels more slowly than the advertisi matter about New York's marvellous Grover Whalen. One the really Big Ideas of the three-fisted, he-he-man police commi sioner was a little book to be carried by every policeman. Th volume contains all sorts of instructions as to what may be do in every conceivable emergency, and lists all the city agencies whe inquirers may be sent. The story goes that one sturdy cop w approached by a tearful woman who complained that her husba had been beating her regularly for some time. What should s do? The man in blue thumbed patiently through his new co pendium. "Here it is," he exclaimed. "Go an' tell it to t Wimmuns Internashunnul League fer Peace an' Freedom."

* * *

OH, well; I once spent a bad half hour myself on the telepho with a woman who insisted that she wanted to place a advertisement in *The World* tomorrow. She didn't seem to g me when I explained that sufficient unto the day was the ev thereof.

* * *

THE newspapers during the weeks before Christmas a always an interesting pathological study. The wealth metropolitans hereabouts will do well if they withstand the co viction, asserted in many columns daily, that the finest Christm gift is a silver flask. Or, it may be, as I saw in at least one adve tisement, a beautiful pearl-handled revolver. But a publisher h climbed the capax by sending me a folder announcing a new lo price on ten great books. All of the ten belong to the limite editions variety. The kind, you know, which if *really* were sol "only to lawyers, physicians," and other privileged and immu characters, would hardly pay. Now I am no prude, as it happens I am an unrelenting foe of censorship; and I recognize the pla of many a thing that most people would probably deny the rig to live even on paper. But what gets me is this. Out of the te books, three verge on pornographic romance (I know, for I rea them long ago); five discuss extremely abnormal criminality; o presents the complete trial of Oscar Wilde; and one describes t history of bundling—an old colonial custom which any student social history knows will disappoint the smuthound. And the pu lisher assures me in bold type that all of these books "are new a in perfect condition, *making marvellous holiday gifts.*" I gue I am simple minded. I'd rather stick to Santy Claus and stocking

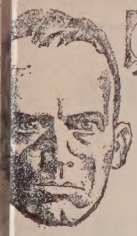
HOLIDAY WISH

Give me a nook and a shady book
If you think I am too old-fashioned;
I'll patronize brewers and sleep in the sewers
And read of romance preterpassioned.
I'll wallow in gore and live as of yore
The cave-man exalted his culture;
Though I may get burned I'll keep on till I've learned
How the human race looks to a vulture.
For the rest of the year I will try to be queer,
If you'll grant me a little vacation;
So give me, I plead, Little Rollo to read—
What I crave is some Pure dissipation.

ECCENTRICUS.

DEBATE

oviet Russia *vs.* Labor England



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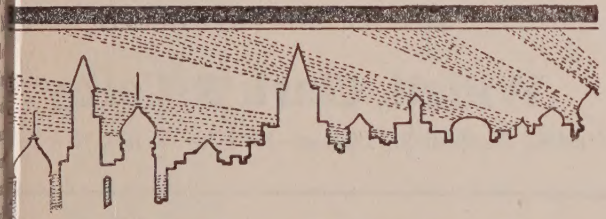

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